

Maclean's

Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine

June 7, 1999

ELECTIONS:
THE VOTERS ARE RESTLESS

KOSOVO:
AT THE WAR FRONT
WITH THE KLA

TELEVISION:
GARDENING SHOWS BLOOM

The Maclean's

The First
Ranking

Health Report

How 16 Canadian
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This Week

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Canada's Wildlife Movement

June 3 1999 Vol. 12 No. 11

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Ten years after Beijing's Tiananmen massacre, dissidents still face brutal oppression and Chinese-Caucasians recall those horrifying days; a US report accuses China of massive nuclear spying, but experts raise doubts about

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In Ontario, a nasty campaign has produced a house race in New Brunswick, the opposition is making significant headway. Incumbents are discovering there is no safe bet or easy ride.

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and former Lt. Gen. Scheraga's return to military life.



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Gardening programs are flourishing on TV, blossoming with the popularity of the horticultural arts. The shows tell viewers what to do—and inspire them with the gardens of the i dreams.

Culture or religion?

Your coverage of the new *Star Wars* movie was misleading ("The second coming," *Conex*, May 24). Why does your magazine, and other media, hop onto every bandwagon to promote what has already been beaten into our heads? Must each blockbuster film be a cultural phenomenon? In the past 100 years, there have been thousands of pop culture phenomena, from Charlie Chaplin

we have already checked out along with our costs. The *Star Wars* movies are such grand escapism we allow George Lucas a great deal of scientific licence because we are being entertained. Relax—enjoy the *Star Wars* movies for what they are.

Gema Lee Talbot, Toronto, B.C.

I object to your suggestion that pop culture, and more specifically *Star Wars*, has become the new religion. Certainly it is an example of the modern philosophy, and does an admirable job of describing how good and evil are intertwined, while appearing to disparage. I cringed out in line for this movie with my church (religiously-minded) friends, not to worship, but to participate in the celebration of perhaps the ultimate earthly dream: a vivid and detailed imagination, backed by all the resources needed to effect its creation. Beyond that, this is my explanation for the *Star Wars* phenomenon: at the end of this rapidly accelerating-to-its-end millennium, it is the reversion to things we are experiencing, and are willing to pay for, their nostalgia.

Bruce Jarvis, Ottawa

Controversy

My thanks to former colleague Allan Fotheringham for a friendly look at my battle for free speech in British Columbia ("A lifelong fight for freedom," May 24). It is an odd fact that we of the school of political incorrectness get free transcripts in the media. As far as my own record is concerned, however, I must point out that there were some inaccuracies. It is true that I escaped 10 times from Nanaimo prison camp, as described in my book *POW: A Soldier's Story of The Detention Camps of New Britain*. But I was never in Sealing Lufth III, and there-

Balancing the picture

You paint a relentlessly negative picture of the state of Ontario's environment and lay the blame squarely on the Conservative government ("Open for business," *Canada*, May 24). There are positive individuals that you refuse to mention, minimize or dismiss as inadequate. You chose to ignore the World Wildlife Fund's statement that Ontario's growing of protected areas is more than 2.4 million hectares of Crown lands was the most important conservation achievement in Canada over the past year. This land represents fully half of all the new land added into nature reserves in the entire country. You also do not refer to the WWF's annual report card, which raised Ontario's grading from a D-plus to a B-plus in April. In the interests of fairness, especially around election time, all the facts should be presented, not just those that support a particular political bias.

Marilyn Davies, Richmond, B.C.

For could not escape from it. Nor did I "put through" Ansonia, which it was the village. What happened was that my fellow camper and I ran into the concentration camp at night after getting out of a POW camp in Silesia. We had no idea what it was, but could see that it was not for us. I must also correct Forth's view that it is a 19-year-old argument with the Gloucestershire Regiment. I was "an untrained lad," I had no letters after my name, but have my letters perhaps better than some of today's university students. Anyway, thanks again, Forth.

Doug Collins, West Vancouver

Allan Fotheringham writes nostalgically about his good old buddy, Forth's gutsy 1960s newspaper colleague and supposed Second World War hero, Doug Collins. Wherever Collins did or didn't do as a warrior in the British army 50 years ago does not give him, or anyone that will publish him, an absolute right to repeatedly vilify people for their citizenship and religion. Even though I subscribe to *Maclean's*, I found Forth's article already posted on a Canadian white supremacist, neo-Nazi Web site, long before I received my copy in the mail. I heavily annotated that the *Maclean's* editorial board and Forth take an extended look around just that one Web

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Opening

Notes

Edited by Tanya Davies

The newest talk of the walk

It may not be as well known as the Hollywood Walk of Fame, but Canada's modern equivalent just got a little larger and a little glossier. Last week, another 10 honorees were inducted into Canada's Walk of Fame in downtown Toronto, joining last year's initial 14, who included actor Jon Curry, ballerina Karen Kain and race car driver Jacques Villeneuve. The newest granite-and-metal stars, which resemble stylized maple leaves, bear the names of singer Juliette Carron, filmmaker David Cronenberg, actor Hume Cronyn, the late actor Mary Pickford, hockey legend Maurice (Rocket) Richard, comedians Fanny Shuster and the late Johnny Wayne, and members of the rock group Rush—Alex Lifeson, Geddy Lee and Neil Peart. Lifeson was honored—and awarded. "Now, people can step all over us."



Richard Lee and Lifeson with the star honoring Rush (below): a permanent tribute to Canadian celebrities



Lee, Carron, Lifeson, (front row left to right), Cronenberg, Richard, Pickford's widow Keith Lawrence, Cronyn, (middle row), Shuster, Wayne's son James, stars



Leafs' lousy ice

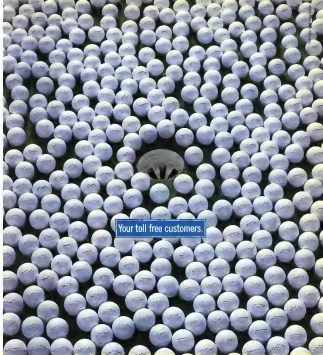
The National Hockey League has come to accept bad ice from its American Sun Belt franchises. Last spring, heat combined with high humidity inside the buildings quickly turned hard ice into slush, much nastier in the Dallas

Stars Reunion Arena. Bad hockey ice at the brand new \$265-million Air Canada Centre in Toronto? The arena, which in February replaced Maple Leaf Gardens, is loaded with fans, but midway through each period during last week's Leaf games against the Buffalo Sabres, the ice "melted" and players had problems stickhandling and

passing. "The ice is terrible," says a senior NHL associate. "They have got to get it fixed." Team officials claim their ice analysts will find the right water-and-chemicals recipe for a better playing surface by next season. They had better: The Leafs are scheduled to host the league's 50th anniversary all-star game in February.



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Caring Canucks

Last week, a number of Canadian celebrities lent their name, time and some of their large salaries to good causes. Maple Leaf's goalie Corey Joseph invited a number of similarly ill children to his \$400,000 premiere slaybox at the Art Canada Centre to catch the playoff action, bringing the total this year to 400 kids who have watched the Leafs' journey of Cops. *Party of Five* star Naveen Andrews attended the Toronto's Syndrome Foundation's annual event to help



Campbell (left), Dan Aykroyd with wife Donna Dierks, Sherry Dierks

raise money for the neurological disorder that afflicts her half-brother, Duncan McDonald. Meanwhile, talk-show businessman Jerry Patinkin provided the largest single donation ever given to a Canadian medical institution, \$20 million to Vancouver General Hospital for a prostate cancer research and treatment centre. And *Kangaroo*, Ont., native Dan Aykroyd launched the Our Millennium project with his father, Peter, to promote community-minded action such as building playgrounds and setting up senior support clubs.

High-tech teens

Don't be fooled by their ages. Last week, Albert Lin, 38, Michael Hartman, 18, and Michael Furdylek, 16, became high-tech teens when they sold their Canadian online publishing company, MyDriveway.com, to U.S. Web-site operator Internet.com LLC for a price in the "seven figures" according to Lin. "Most people say it is remarkable that we are 'don't young,'" says Hartman.

Adds Furdylek, "It is pretty insane." Next for the two author new Web site, *BoyBuddy.com*. "It is an e-commerce site," explains Hartman, "that we hope to make into a market place now that we have more experience and contacts." And money: The profits from the site will be reinvested into the company. "And," adds Furdylek, "I'm going to buy a car." Spoken like a true 16-year-old.

Best-Sellers

FOR THE LAST WEEK

Fiction	
1. <i>THE ROAD</i> , Stephen King (1)	3
2. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (2)	4
3. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (3)	5
4. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (4)	6
5. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (5)	7
6. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (6)	8
7. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (7)	9
8. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (8)	10
9. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (9)	11
10. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (10)	12

Nonfiction

1. <i>THE ROAD</i> , Stephen King (1)	3
2. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (2)	4
3. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (3)	5
4. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (4)	6
5. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (5)	7
6. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (6)	8
7. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (7)	9
8. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (8)	10
9. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (9)	11
10. <i>THE GUNNING OF THE GUN</i> , Stephen King (10)	12

Compiled by Dan Barlow

Large—and loving it

In her latest ruling cry for far-ago Canada, Marlene Mahan has published her new book, *Woke Up, It's Hot!* (Broadway Books). Mahan—who claimed a best-selling actress Emmy in 1996 by shooting "This is for all the fat girls!"—chronicles how she came to accept her body and her battles to get Hollywood to do the same.

Passages



Owen Hart

Died: Canadian World Wrestling Federation star Owen Hart, 33, after falling while being lowered by cable onto the ring for a stunt, in Kansas City, Mo. He was part of the Calgary-based Hart family who have become legendary in the professional wrestling world. His father, Stu, represented Canada in the Olympics in the 1960s and has taught many top pro wrestlers. His brother, Bret (The Hitman) Hart, is a star with the World Championship Wrestling organization.

Died: Colourful Winnipeg sportsman Jack Wills, 68, after complications from prostate surgery resulted in a blood clot in his lungs. Wills began his career in 1935 and was on the air for 60 years.

Charged: Fawcett, Ala., physician Dr. Abraham Cooper, 68, with first-degree murder in the mysterious disappearance and presumed death of a medical colleague, Dr. Doug Seiden. Seiden, 35, was last seen on May 5 in Fairview, 420 km northwest of Edmonton.

Awarded: The \$10,000 National Business Book Award to Toronto journalist Jennifer Wells for *Fire—The Dark Mystery of the Bar-X Gold Rush*, in Toronto. Wells began covering the Bar-X scandal for *Maclean's* when the story broke in 1996.

Awarded: The Come Writers of Canada annual Arthur Ellis Award, in Toronto. Vancouver's *News* Kelly won best novel for *Old World*, Toronto's *Lin* Brady took best first novel for *Swades*, and best nonfiction went to Toronto's Derek Hulse for his book *No Class in Mexico*.

Wase: The NBA Rookie of the Year Award by Toronto-Raptors Vince Carter, 20. The high-flying son of Daytona Beach, Fla., led all rookies by averaging 18.3 points and 1.54 blocks a game.



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Opening Notes

Explorer



The chainless bike: less maintenance

Riding the next wave of bicycles

Chainless bicycles, powered by a shaft that runs from the pedals to the rear wheel, were extremely popular at the turn of the century. Women, particularly, liked them because they could ride without worrying about getting their skirts caught in the chain or sprocket. But with their heavy steel frames and single-gear construction, the chainless models disappeared, except for a few that managed to land in museums or private collections. Now, they're back. Taiwan-based manufacturer Super Enterprises Co., produces and markets chainless bikes with one, three, five and seven gears. And this spring, a Toronto company begins distributing the seven-gear bike, which retails for \$749. But for that price, some reports say, buyers get a bike that is lighter and requires less maintenance than conventional models.

Big Blue gets into the game

In the ever-changing home video game industry, companies have to keep improving their products or risk being so far behind that Project Dolphin is the code name for Nintendo's new generation home video game system, scheduled to be launched in the fall of 2000. But wary of tipping off the competition, the Kyoto, Japan-based con-

sumer electronics giant is keeping the lid on details about the product.

A couple of facts Nintendo did make public: the company and IBM will spend \$1.5 billion to develop an improved game console using IBM's protecting copper chip technology, which is cheaper, faster and requires less power than its predecessors, and the new system will run on video discs rather than cartridges, resulting in more complex games. Nintendo has also promised better-than-arcade-quality 3-D graphics. Though the company is not disclosing prices or prices of the games, industry observers say it is safe to assume Nintendo's extremely popular Pokémon, or pocket monsters, will be back.

Pokémon the pocket monster: popular



The Mager family gives a pass for NASA

Nosy NASA

What started as a 15-month expedition to document the Arctic journey of Norwegian explorer Otto Sverdrup, who charted Ellsworth and several adjacent islands between 1898 and 1902, has warmed NASA's sci-fi traffic light. Researchers with the U.S. space agency plan to learn from Madeline, Ont., physician Graeme Mager, 43, his wife Lynne, 35, and five fellow adventurers next winter. The Magers, along with their two-year-old daughter Keelin, and two other couples will live aboard a 59-foot steel-hulled sailboat moored off the northwest coast of Ellsworth Island. Besides frigid temperatures and disorienting auroras, some members will have to

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endure three months of total darkness.

The expedition caught the attention of Gloria Leon, a University of Minnesota psychologist and consultant to NASA, who saw it as a useful way to study the impact of (un)ordinary space travel. Through weekly e-mail questionnaires, Leon will monitor the effects of living the isolated life and will advise NASA on how to select people for a planned Mars mission. One obvious prerequisite: patience.

All of the fun—none of the mess

There's a new dog on the block, none of Scout II, and he can walk, run and jump. But don't go looking for him in the local pet store or kennel. Scout II is a robot created by graduate mechanical



Scout II: the next generation of robotics

and electrical engineering students at McGill University's Center for Intelligent Machines. Scout II will be introduced to the public for the first time on June 7 at a virtual reality conference in Toronto. Engineering professor Martin Buehler, who oversees the project, says the students have demonstrated that smooth leg motion, similar to that

of a real animal, can be achieved in a robot. Scout II is the second robotic dog the McGill students have built. Typically, such devices have three to five motors in each leg, which makes their movements stiff and jerky.

The new version has one motor per limb and springy legs resembling pogo sticks, which allow it to walk more smoothly than its predecessor.

Buehler and his team have great plans for Scout II, which is the size of a small golden retriever. Next year, they will begin work on a camera-based navigational system that will allow the robot to see its surroundings and plot a course through them. Eventually, Buehler speculates, Scout II may be capable of working in the real world, as an amusement park character that interacts with guests, a police surveillance device, or as a mobile platform for firefighting and hazardous waste cleanup. But for now, Scout II usually goes out for a walk.

D'Arcy Jenish with Scout II

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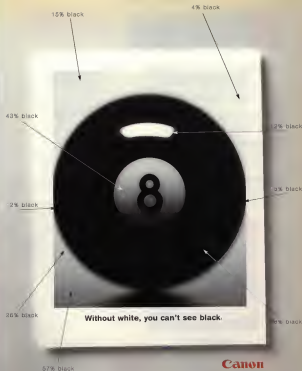
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The Maclean's Health Report

An exclusive ranking shows how 16 cities stack up in health services

By Robert Marshall

I think it is obvious that when you're spending \$30 billion a year as Canadians do on health care, there's a need to know more about what we're getting for our money.

—Health Minister Allan Rock, Feb. 3, 1999

Two weeks after Rock's statement, Ottawa reached the throne with real money in the so-called health-care budget. While it increased cash transfers to the provinces to fund health care, it also committed \$1.4 billion to known direct investment in health. Of that, \$350 million is earmarked over the next three years as a data-gathering project

designed to improve health services—and to make its operations more visible to the public. But even as that key program gets under way, large riders are being made elsewhere in the collection of health-care information that truly counts to Canadians. Until this year, the only publicly available comparisons using national data have been at the province-to-province level. Now, for the first time, the *Maclean's* Health Report contains comparative data at the community level, producing an unprecedented ranking of health services in 16 major urban centres from Victoria to St. John's, Nfld.

The results clearly demonstrate that excellence

Montreal General Hospital nurse Susan Polanski attends to heart bypass patient William MacDonald; the rankings give regional health authorities a new tool for measuring their position on some key areas



respects no boundaries. Topping the list is Edmonton, followed closely by Toronto, Halifax and Quebec City. The ranked cities showed highly varying results on many of the 13 individual indicators forming the basis of the overall ranking, such as numbers of physicians and specialists, coronary bypass and hip replacement surgeries and hospital patients admitted for conditions that could have been treated elsewhere. But the positives and negatives evoked our considerably in the final grading: the marks range from Edmonton's top score of 88 per cent to Sudbury's 16th place showing of 79 per cent. "It should come as no surprise that health-care service in all of Canada's cities got a good grade," says Dr. John Milne, vice-president of the Canadian Institute for Health Information, *Maclean's* partner in preparing the Health Report. "But these communities can now use the results, especially their poorer showings on individual indicators, to look at how they might do some things better."

The absence of any clear failure is a surprising reminder that, despite its notorious shortcomings, the Canadian health

system in most respects ranks among the finest on the planet. Nonetheless, headlines and newscasts across daily about long, occasionally fatal, waits for critical treatments. Dangerously overcrowded emergency departments. Sadly inadequate home-care facilities. Seriously overworked and understaffed nurses. Alarming disparities in care between urban and rural areas. Frankly appalling health services in many native communities. And the alarm keeps sounding, prompting Canadians to wonder what is going right.

Flourish as it may, the issue of health inequalities across the land clouds words and more hospitals over the past five to 10 years, taking beds out of the system, the dire consequences foreseen by vocal critics simply did not happen. Serious problems reaped from time to time, missing the attention of the communities where they happened. "But for one reason or another," says Milne, "the health of the population has continued to get better."

Still, could \$80 billion be spent more effectively? Are all Canadians getting the same high standard of care? Are the

practitioners well enough trained? Where is the medical and surgical excellence in Canada? Who does the best coronary bypass surgery, and who does the best job of treating cancer? Why do overcrowding, crisis periods in hospital emergency departments? These are all valid questions. Unfortunately, there are no thorough answers to any of them, not even a hint of an answer to some.

The data used to produce this initial ranking, however, cover enough critical items to give regional health authorities reason to reassess some of their practices. For the top-ranking community, Edmonton, the ranking is a sign that it is "on the right track" (page 28). In the No. 2 city, Regina, the numbers are seen as a tool to improve performance (page 29). And in fact, the information system that produced those indicators is already one of the best in the world, says Richard Abrams, president of CIHI, the independent agency responsible for managing and circulating health-system data (page 23). "But as more and more treatment are moved out of the traditional hospital setting into clinics, home care, day surgery and other providers," he adds, "we find we just don't have good data." Consequently, a prime focus at CIHI is on developing means to collect material from those sources. "How efficiently was a procedure done? How often? How long did the patient wait?" asks Abrams. "These are the questions we have to be able to answer."

How the ranking was done

The ranking on pages 22 and 23 is based on data gathered nationally by the Canadian Institute for Health Information. It features 13 indicators for which data are available that were analyzed at a national consensus conference. Where necessary, CIHI standardized the data to remove discrepancies arising from age or sex differences in the populations of the 36 participating cities. The numbers, the most recent available, are from the fiscal years 1996-1997 or 1997-1998. Rates of physician and specialist are from Dec. 31, 1997. Medical consultation for the project, University of Toronto professor David Andrews,

teaches in both the statistical and public health sciences departments. Andrews converted raw data into grades on a scale from 0 to 100 per cent. The resulting final mark for each city comes from weighting the individual grades under five categories. The weights attach more importance to indicators of patient health and the availability of practitioners than to management issues such as efficiency.

The unweighted health outcomes and service provided, 3 measures, 1.5, and appropriateness and efficiency, 1. As data for two indicators were not available from Montreal or Quebec City, their rankings are an aggregate of the other 11.

Ultrasound at Ottawa General: accountable to the public

As those initiatives get under way, CIHI has gained agreement from communities across the country as to which indicators from already available data can be used as valid, comparable measurements of service delivery—the basis of the Macdonald ranking. Miller, who spearheaded CIHI's involvement in the Health Reports, sees that kind of progress as a fundamental part of the organization's mandate. "At the heart of our basic philosophy is the regular need to report directly to the public," he says. "We are striving to fill the gaps between credible sources of information, not on behalf of any government, but on behalf of the people."

A year ago, Macdonald joined the ongoing campaign for more openness and accountability in such a way, says surprisingly accurate, face of Canadians' lives. The inaugural Health Report of June 15, 1998, showed where each province stood on a multitude of health factors, including overall spending, availability of hospital beds and high-tech equipment, and status of its residents' health (generally better in the West compared with the East). This year, the ranking gives a significant step further to look at service delivery at the community level in 36 cities representing a cross-section of Canada's major urban centres.

The people who work daily with the data go before the public and political understanding of what makes people healthy is changing for the better. Sophisticated information is available from hospitals not only because they are a handy medium for collecting data, but also because of the traditional view that effectiveness depends on institutional and technical superiority—more equipment, more beds, better surgical expertise. "Now, there is a growing understanding that the system has to capture what happens outside the hospital or doctor's office," says Jennifer Zidman, CIHI's director of analysis and special studies. Canada, she adds, is making as much progress in that respect as any other country.

Another interesting development is the vast government readiness in the computer and communication facilities required to gather and sort data from so far-scattered sources of critical health-care information. That is especially important as hospitals play a diminishing role in the overall health-care pic-

Canadians show no signs of relenting in their criticism of perceived faults in the health care they receive

ture. Community-care agencies, drugs and non-hospital medical health treatment, for instance, have become much more important factors in recent years—yet all remain virtually unmeasured. Even one element of the traditional system—the physician's office—has retreated beyond the data gathered reach until now in Canada. 25 per cent of the health budgets goes to physicians' services. But the paper records they keep in each office simply cannot be captured nationally. Now, physicians, armed with computer and data-management software, have joined numerous pilot projects across the country aimed at making their records available for comparative purposes.

Across the country, Canadians are showing no signs of

letting up in their criticism of perceived faults in the health care they receive. But better funding is not the answer. "We just want to keep pouring more money into the health system, we can do that," says Alan Nyemko, federal associate deputy minister of health. "But the public doesn't want that." More money is being diverted to uniformed management to cope with the underlying problems, the lack of reliable evidence to be used to improve the system. "It is often assumed," notes CIHI's Miller, "that as much as 40 per cent of health-care funding is used in inappropriate or unnecessary ways." In that case, consistent monitoring and reporting can only help to improve the system.

CIHI aims sky-high

The title is arguably—the Canadian Institute for Health Information—in people took to calling it by its acronym, pronounced "ky-by." For years, the agency's managers balked at the informality of the moniker, pleading to have CIHI referred to in speech by its initials, C-I-H-I. They have conceded defeat. Just as a mysterious colored fever deposited "leontine" and "leontine" into the Canadian vocabulary, "ky-by" has become entrenched in the health community's consciousness. The people have spoken, and five years after its inception, Canada's primary health information agency is gaining national recognition under its cheery nickname. "Frankly, we don't care what they call us," says CIHI president Richard Abrams. "In long to try appreciate the job we're doing."

Canada's health system—federal, provincial and territorial—created CIHI to deal with a crying need for rationally cost-effective health information. The independent agency, established in 1994, has either used the management of many information programs from Health Canada, Statistics Canada and other agencies. The agency received an enormous boost in February, when Health Canada put CIHI in charge of a \$95-million project to revolutionize the health information system.

One focus will be what Abrams calls "the cross of darkness" outside the hospital setting. "Compared to other countries, we have a rich national database using hospital records," says Abrams. "Now, for the next three years we will be developing ways of collecting better information from other existing parts of the health system, including home care, emergency services, and clinics." Other aspects of the new project will establish a national registry to record the progress of patients receiving hip and knee replacement, develop ways to track waiting times and patient satisfac-



Abrams, digging for data on the effectiveness of procedures

tion, and study the cost-effectiveness of using drugs as a supplement for other kinds of treatment.

Macdonald's association with CIHI began last year with the publication of the inaugural Health Report, which compared services and health issues province by province. The new venture helps CIHI fulfil its mandate of improving health system management and getting more—and more useful—health information to the general public.

Given CIHI's goals, the quality of that information can only improve. "It is not enough to know that a particular operation is a hip replacement, for instance—that been done in a particular hospital," says Abrams. "We have to be able to measure how long the replacement lasts before it fails, and how well one procedure in one device stacks up against another." That is where "ky-by" is going—and the direction Macdonald health-care ranking will take in the coming years.

Health-care Rankings

For the first time, 16 major centres from coast to coast are rated according to the health services they are able to provide



The inaugural *Maclean's* ranking of the services provided in Canada's major health regions is based on performance in 15 varied areas of care. The survey used minimal gathered by the Canadian Institute for Health Information, Canada's main health data agency, and awarded 16 major centres from Vancouver to St. John's, Nfld., a mark under each of those categories (defined on the next page). When combined according to a statistical formula, they produce the first overall ranking ever published in Canada. First place goes to Edmonton with a mark of 89 per cent, with Sudbury in 16th place, just 16 percentage points behind at 79 per cent. As health services shift from hospitals into smaller facilities and the home, CIHI's focus is on collecting a broader range of information. In the coming years, that will enable *Maclean's* to produce increasingly relevant ranking reports.

Canadian patients at Hamilton General are now shifting away from the hospital

Rank by region		Score	HEALTH OUTCOMES			SERVICES PROVIDED			RESOURCES			APPROPRIATENESS			EFFICIENCY		
			Hip fractures	Preventable and flu	Cervical bypass	Hip replacements	Knee replacements	Physicians per capita	Specialists per capita	Cesarean sections	Death after operations	Hypertension	Possible outpatient	Early discharge	Preventable admissions		
1	Edmonton	89%	9	9	9	3	1	9	11	3	3	6	2	2	2		
2	Toronto	87	7	6	12	11	10	7	8	10	11*	2	3	1	9		
3	Halifax	87	6	14	2	7	3	5	8	12	10	7	8	13	11		
4	Quebec City	87	14	4	3	15	15	3	4	1	2	11	n/a	n/a	4		
5	Hamilton	87	5	11	11	5	6	14	7	6	5	9	1	3	1		
6	Saskatoon	87	3	10	15	1	2	10	10	4	4	14	12	11	13		
7	Victoria	86	2	1*	14	6	12	2	13	16	8	15	10	7	12		
8	Vancouver/Richmond	85	11	9	16	13	13	1*	1	13	11*	1	6	10	6		
9	Winnipeg	85	13	7	7	9	6	11	8	7	6*	6	5	12	7		
10	Ottawa	85	6	12	6	10	11	6	9	6	13	13	4	4*	6		
11	Regina	84	4	13	4	4	9	12	14	2	9	10	11	6*	15		
12	Calgary	84	15	8	12	8	9	13	12	6	1	4	7	4*	3		
13	Montreal	83	16	2	6	16	16	8	2	9	6*	3	n/a	n/a	9		
14	St. John's	83	12	3	6	14	14	4	3	11	14	12	14	14	10		
15	Fredericton	80	1	16	10	2	4	16	15	14	16	8	13	6*	16		
16	Sudbury	79	10	15	1*	12	7	15	16	19	15	10	9	6	14		

* Indicates a tie

Indicators of Excellence

Factors in the ranking include numbers of doctors, specific surgeries and reasons for hospitalizations

Maclean's used Canadian Institute for Health Information data on 13 indicators in order to generate the first-ever ranking of health care in urban Canada, presented on the previous pages. It is the most comprehensive list of factors published as a national, comparable basis for measuring the service delivered by hospitals and other key components of a community's health-care system. CIHI continues efforts to reach a consensus among provinces on how to collect many other kinds of health data, including those affecting rural Canadians. They will be included, as available, in future editions of the Health Report ranking. (Two indicators, hip replacements and knee replacements, were combined in one definition.)

OUTCOMES

These indicators, although derived from hospital data, capture broader aspects of community health. Hip fractures, for instance, indirectly measure nutrition, and the range of services in a community.

Hip fractures

This ranking comes from the rate of hospitalizations for hip fractures among people over 64, after statistically adjusting for age and sex. Hip fractures across regions. It is an important indicator of the health of communities because the falls that cause most of the fractures can be prevented and because success in lowering this number benefits the community. "Hip fractures are a tremendous strain on the health-care system," says Dr. Gerald Brou-

don, listed to become chief of orthopaedics at the QEII Health Sciences Centre in Halifax in September. "There is a great case involved, given first to the fact that the hospital stays are long and difficult for patients and family." Hip numbers could signal a community's failure to reduce risks for falls among the elderly, such as the overspending of drugs, vision and mobility problems, lack of nutritional counselling, inadequate safety programs and even poor snow removal.

Pneumonia and flu

These results are based on the rates (per 100,000 persons, over 64) of hospitalizations for influenza or pneumonia. If the rate is high, "it might tell us that a community is not doing enough to prevent these infections," says Dr. Andrew Simons, head of microbiology and an infectious disease consultant at St. Michael's and Women's College Health Sciences Centre in Toronto. "Vaccines to prevent flu and pneumonia are readily available and quite effective," says Simons, but "may not be used as often as they should be." Other effective measures are tracking contacts, programs and making sure serious respiratory illnesses are cared for properly before they symptoms get worse.



Dr. Martin Glaser (center) performs coronary artery bypass graft surgery at Mount Sinai General Hospital in Toronto.

SERVICES PROVIDED

Coronary bypass

These are indicators of medical services available in the community. While some heart bypass operations may be unnecessary, this category simply measures the varying rates of services provided. Presence of unnecessary services is assessed under efficiency.

This list makes the rate of coronary artery bypass graft surgery (per 100,000 adults in the community) in acute-care hospitals. During an open-heart operation, the surgeon grafts lengths of healthy blood vessels from other parts of the body into place to bypass blockages in the arteries in the heart, moving blood flow to that organ. "It is an important procedure which improves quality of life and can be life-saving," says Dr. David Naylor, professor of medicine at the University of Toronto and an expert in charting regional health trends. A high rate, says Naylor, can suggest that more of those procedures are being done than necessary, or it can indicate more disease

and a failure to provide proper preventive services, such as smoking cessation programs, blood pressure control, cholesterol-lowering medication or diabetes control. But as a measurement of service delivery in this surgery, the higher the rate, the higher the mark.

Hip and knee replacements

These marks are based on the number of total hip- or knee-replacement surgeries performed on inpatients in acute-care hospitals per 100,000 population. It is a complex category. "Grafts are involved in the mix," says Halifax orthopedic surgeon Dr. Gerald Broudon. A high number in any one community "may simply mean that in that area there is more over-treatment." But it could also mean a community is being more generous about which ones need surgery. A measurement of services provided in this surgery, the higher the rate, the higher the mark.

RESOURCES

This category considers the various modes of physicians and specialists working in each community. Rates may appear high in some major communities because they do not account for significant numbers of people from outlying areas being referred there for care.

Physicians per capita

This ranking is derived from the number of active civilian (non-retiree) GPs and family practitioners per 100,000 people. However, there is no simple definition of an appropriate number. The difficulty notes Don Kelly, British Columbia's deputy minister of health, is that the appropriate number has to take affordability into account, along with access. But as a measurement of available resources, the higher the ratio, the higher the grade.

Specialists per capita

A shortage of medical specialists (measured per 100,000 people) in a community suggests that the people there do not have access to required specialized care, whether for heart problems, vision disturbances, respiratory failure, childhood or numerous other health needs. Shortages can be corrected over time with incentive programs and medical training. One complicating factor is that specialists, like all doctors, are independent business people, not government employees, and make their own choices as to where they want to live and practice. "It is difficult," says Kelly, "to achieve a balance to address what doctors expect, what the community expects and what it is possible to provide."

APPROPRIATENESS

Current research suggests that a high rate for some established procedures may not be effective or in the patient's best interests. Some clearly beneficial procedures, on the other hand, may be underused.

Caesarean sections

This standing is drawn from the proportion of women who deliver babies by caesarean section (rather than vaginally) in acute-care hospitals. According to Dr. John Miller, vice-president of the Canadian Institute for Health Information, international guidelines suggest caesarean sections

Obstetricians and Gynecologists of Canada in Ottawa, "but it shows regions are offering women more choice for how they deliver." Low VBAC numbers may signify that high-tech methods are used more than is necessary for the good health of mother and baby. "We think 60 to 80 per cent of women who have had a caesarean section can deliver safely vaginally," says Lalonde.

Hysterectomies

This rating is derived from the rate of hysterectomies done on women over age 19 in acute-care hospitals, per 100,000 women. "Twenty or 30 years ago, women in their 50s would go up to each other, 'Have you had your hysterectomy yet?'" says Dr. Ross Kleiter, chief of obstetrics and gynecology at Toronto's Mount Sinai Hospital. Hysterectomies were not unusual for women who had difficulty having children and were having trouble with their periods. "Now," he says, "women are more inclined to look for alternatives," such as medication or endometrial ablation, which destroys unwanted

tissue and can be done on a day-surgery basis. High rates of hysterectomy—resulting in a lower mark here—can be only a social issue, but a political/financial one as well. "We know that endometrial ablation stops bleeding in 60 to 80 per cent of cases and reduces it in another 20 per cent," says Dr. Andre Lalonde of Ottawa, vice-president of the Society of Obstetricians and Gynecologists of Canada, "but we have a very, very hard time getting hospitals to buy the equipment."

are necessary and beneficial in only about 10 to 15 per cent of births. As that is below Canadian rates ranging from 15 per cent to 26 per cent at the referenced communities (page 34), the highest standings go to the lower rates.

Births after c-sections

These results reflect the percentage of women who, after having previously had a baby delivered by caesarean section, then give birth vaginally in a hospital. In obstetrical circles, this is called VBAC, or vaginal birth after caesarean. "A higher VBAC rate does not necessarily equal higher quality," says Dr. Andre Lalonde, vice-president of the Society of

EFFICIENCY

These indicators were selected to gauge whether a community hospital and ambulatory-care (non-hospital) services are being applied appropriately.

Possible outpatients

This indicator looks at patients who may have been admitted unnecessarily to hospitals. They needed medical service, but not necessarily in a hospital bed. The most common reason for high numbers—and lower marks—says Steven Lewis, CEO of the Saskatchewan Health Services Evaluation and Research Commission in Saskatoon, is doctors admitting patients they would like to observe, such as a young child with a sore throat. Better guidelines and the development of special observation units are two possible ways to improve performance in that category. "If you were perfectly efficient and had perfect judgment, you would have no unnecessary admissions," says Lewis. "But sometimes you want to err on the side of caution."

Preventable admissions

This mark is based on hospitalizations for conditions such as diabetes or asthma that can usually be better after in doctor's office or clinics. "These conditions should be manageable without admission to hospital," explains Carolyn DeCoteau, researcher at the Manitoba Centre for Health Policy and Evaluation in Winnipeg. A higher rate—producing a lower mark—could indicate poor access to primary care, more typical of conditions in remote communities than in major cities. Or it could hint at poor quality of care by physicians.

Early discharge

The amount of time patients spend in hospital relative to the standard for particular conditions determined this standing. One cause of a longer stay—leading to a lower mark—would be admitting a patient days before surgery for tests that could have been done on an outpatient basis. A shorter stay is generally the goal, so long as patients stay relatively healthy after leaving hospital. "It places this systematically shorter length of stay on this measure and if there aren't high readmission rates and higher mortality rates," says Saskatchewan health services researcher Steven Lewis, "then better for them. They may just be more efficient."



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A newborn in Ottawa General wing procedures beautifully



Health Cover

Leader of the Pack

By Brian Bergman

Edmonton is No. 1 in the first-ever ranking of health service in Canada's major centres

When it comes to his health, Harry Meadows has seen better days. In recent years, the 83-year-old former teacher and clergyman has undergone intestinal surgery, suffered head injuries due to severe falls, developed a tumor in his hand and gone partially deaf. "It seems," says Meadows, who retains a healthy sense of humor, "like it's one damn thing after another." Hospitalized for months at a stretch because of his ailments, he appeared destined to spend his days in a nursing home. But because of an innovative programs program offered by Edmonton's Capital Health Authority, Meadows and nearly 300 other elderly and frail residents are treated in regularly to three central facilities where physicians, nurses and

therapists attend to their medical needs. And at the end of each day, Meadows and the others get to do what many in their condition can only dream of doing—they return to their own homes.

The program Meadows benefits from, known as CHOICE (Comprehensive Home Option of Integrated Care for the Elderly), is the first of its kind in Canada. According to a recent survey, the CHOICE initiative has reduced the numbers of acute and elderly clients spend at hospital patients by roughly half and cut their visits to emergency wards by 25 per cent—not to mention saving taxpayers an estimated \$2 million annually in related health-care costs. CHOICE is also one example of

Wooters, striving for 'a well-oiled machine' with 'very satisfied customers'

Shooting for the top

"I'm pleased that Toronto is No. 2" in the *Michelin* rankings, said Dr. Alan Hudson, president and CEO of the city's University Health Network. "But it also means that now we've got to work harder to be No. 1." Hudson, whose network operates Toronto General, Toronto Western and Princess Margaret hospitals, and rankings of critical performance are important because "people who are paying for health care through their taxes are entitled to know what kind of care they are getting." A survey like *Michelin*, said Hudson, is likely to be embraced by health officials in centers that care poor grades. "But," he added, "rankings are important because our hospitals and other groups of organizations can use them internally to improve our own performance. People have to read the results and say,



Hudson: "People paying for health care through taxes are entitled to know what kind of care they are getting"

"Look, we've got to improve our performance." Hudson said still *anxious* at the network's hospitals regularly compare their institution's performance with such top-ranked U.S. hospitals as Minnesota's Mayo Clinic—"What's the level of care we think people are entitled to?" Wooters placing in the survey seemed to show that despite bitter criticism in recent years of Ontario's Conservative government for its wide-ranging restructuring of the health system, the region had emerged with a high standard of care intact. Since 1996, a previously appointed commission has shut down several Toronto hospitals and forced others into administrative mergers. "But the bottom line is that the quality of care in Toronto remains very high," said Hudson. "I tell people wherever I go that 67 were asked, 'Is this the place that I would want to be treated?'"

Mark Nicholas

why Edmonton tops the list in *Michelin* national ranking of hospital and health-care services. Among other things, Edmonton scored extremely well by registering a low number of preventable hospital admissions, by ensuring people in hospitals whenever possible and by ensuring a high rate of early discharge for patients. These are all indicators of efficiency in managing the time patients spend in hospitals and minimizing health care resources in the community.

Those in charge of Edmonton's Capital Health Authority—a \$1.6-billion-a-year enterprise that oversees the seven major hospitals in the city and surrounding area, as well as almost every other aspect of health services in the region—say the *Michelin* findings reflect their determined strategy to blend hospital and community health resources into a seamless web. "I want to run the best health region in the country," says Sheila Wooters, the health authority's president and chief executive officer. "I want it to be a well-oiled machine that serves some very satisfied customers."

The rankings suggest that Wooters is well on the way to achieving her goals. That is perhaps all the more remarkable given the contentious and political climate in which she and her colleagues have operated during recent years. After Premier Ralph Klein led his Conservatives to re-election in 1993, his dashed government's spending in a successful bid to eliminate the province's \$3.2-billion deficit. Health-care funding was cut by about 18 per cent. Hospital closures quickly ensued, as did a dramatic reduction in the number of acute-care beds—some 630 at the Edmonton region alone.

As it rolled in spending, the Klein government ordered a massive reorganization in the way health care services are delivered. Starting in 1994, Alberta's 290 hospitals and health-care boards merged into 47 regional and two provincial authorities. A cadre of those reforms, the board of directors that now runs the Capital Health Authority replaced nine acute hospitals and public health boards that covered the area.

The Alberta government began to reinvent new dollars in health care as early as 1996, which in turn is allowing the regional boards to start to recover lost ground. Last week, the Capital Health Authority unveiled a 1999-2000 budget of \$1.15 billion that takes into account a total to lose 300 new staff, 295 of which will be in nursing. All the same, the province's health-care system still finding the effects of the massive, short-term cuts imposed in the mid-1990s. Robert Bea, chief clinical officer for the Capital Health Authority, points out that, in terms of hospital beds per 1,000 of population, Edmonton ranks among the lowest in the country, and that waiting times at emergency rooms and for some hospital procedures remain unacceptably long. "This is still a you can under stress," says Bea. "There is very little flexibility in it."

But in Edmonton's case, at least, the move to consolidate hospital boards and a wide range of community health services under one umbrella appears to be paying dividends. In addition to saving money, says Bea, it allows older managers to respond to patients' needs much more quickly than dealing with several hospital boards and agencies possibly

—and placing patients

Alberta began reinvesting in health care as early as 1996, but the system still feels the effects of massive cuts

working at cross-purposes. Last winter, as in many other parts of the country, influenza and pneumonia outbreaks plagued the city's emergency rooms. But because the health authority controls everything from rehabilitation facilities to nursing homes and acute-care beds, it could constantly monitor where the pressure points existed—and act to relieve them. "We have the executive authority to quickly move money and beds around," says Bear. "Everyone is on the same team and has the same objectives."

Some of the key players on the team say they are also inspired by the recent changes. Arvind Kotiah, a highly regarded heart surgeon and director of the Edmonton region's cardiac program, says he has experienced fewer bureaucratic hurdles since health services were consolidated. "When I have a problem, I don't have to go to five or six different authorities and coordinate each one of them," says Kotiah. "And I find now that if we make a good case, we can get the money we need." In fact, because the provincial government has chosen to target new funds towards high-risk procedures such as heart surgery, Kotiah's division has thrived almost even during a period of fiscal restraint. Last year, Edmonton's cardiac unit performed more heart transplants—a total of 12—than any other unit in Canada. Kotiah's department also did 250 pediatric open-heart operations, second only to Toronto.

A spokesman for Alberta Health Minister Helen Jonson

and the government welcomed the fact that Edmonton had topped the *Macleod* rankings. "We're pleased the system is performing well," said Garth Norris. "Generally the whole move towards community and home-based care was a major focus of our restructuring." Opposition Liberal Leader Nancy MacBeth and the government should not be too quick to pat itself on the back. She noted that many of the issues plaguing the health care system in Alberta and elsewhere—including emergency ward congestion and surgical waiting lists—were not factored into the *Macleod* rankings because of the lack of nationally comparable figures. As for Alberta's move towards consolidating health services, the rankings suggest that it is, at best, a mixed success, says MacBeth. The Calgary Regional Health Authority—dogged by departmental infighting and skyrocketing deficits—placed 12th.

Even among those who had the most right to be pleased by the *Macleod* findings, the response was one of guarded optimism. "We're on the right track, but there's still a lot of work to be done," says Weatherill. "My generation, the baby boomers, want everything—the newest drugs, the best technologies—and we want it fast. The thing that keeps me awake at night is thinking about the public's expectations of the health-care system and how we pay for that." For Weatherill and her colleagues, such challenges have little time for resting on their laurels.

High marks for Halifax

When the brass at a Beijing army hospital decided to show their doctors the latest in heart-surgery techniques, they knew exactly where to turn for expert advice: the Maritime Heart Centre based halfway around the world in Halifax. After all, the centre—staffed by seven surgeons from the Queen Elizabeth II Health Sciences Centre and the IWK Grace Health Centre—is one of Canada's leaders in the relatively new technique of performing coronary bypass surgery without stopping the heart and connecting the patient to a heart-lung machine. "It was a fascinating two weeks," says John Sullivan, the centre's chief of cardiac surgery, after he and a group of experts from the centre returned from an early-May visit to China. And yet another testament to the growing reputation for medicine enjoyed by Halifax-area hospitals.

The *Macleod* Health Report provides further evidence of that. Halifax hospitals are among the best in the country in terms of overall ability to deliver such services as coronary bypass and hip and knee replacements. They are also near the top when it comes to the number



Sullivan's growing reputation for heart surgery excellence

of physicians and specialists serving the area. "We've faced the same fixed challenges in anywhere else," says Barry MacMillan, CEO of Nova Scotia's Central Regional Health Board, which includes six health-care facilities in the Halifax area. "What's encouraging is that we've still managed to keep our resources intact."

John DeMars

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3M Innovation

A Two-tier System

Rural Canadians have less access to health care

By Chris Wood in Port McNell

The small Bell JetRanger B206 helicopter backed gently as the wind and put its nose down into the oncoming cloud. Through scattered holes in the curtain of white, the pilot and two passengers caught glimpses of rugged wooded slopes below, rising rapidly. Suddenly, a bank of heavy cloud seemed to thin and streams abruptly appeared, barely 10 m beneath the chopper's nose. Then, the ridge fell away, opening up a spectacular view of Nanaimo Inlet on Vancouver Island's remote and lovely northwest coast. Fifteen minutes later, the helicopter settled onto a baseball diamond in the isolated logging community of Zebulon, B.C., and Dr. Bob Taylor rode across the wet grass to begin his clinic.

Wednesday is doctor day in Zebulon: the one day a week when Taylor or a colleague from Port McNell, on Vancouver Island's more populous east coast, flies out to the hamlet of 450. One Wednesday last May, a handful of people were already waiting in the community's new new grey and white clinic to see Taylor. Nau-shah with First Nation elder Arnold John had travelled half an hour by open boat from his home at Quinsam Cove, almost 30 km away by sea, to consult the doctor about his diabetes. Emma John was there with her daughter Denise, an active 20-year-old who gives no sign she understands open-heart surgery last August. This was their only chance to see a doctor without leaving a 10-hour drive over rain-sludding logging roads to Port McNell, or an even longer trek to the bigger centres of Port Hardy or Campbell River.

Zebulon is one of Canada's most remote settlements, but its residents are far from alone in having little access to the kind of health care taken for granted in the cities included in the *Michael Ranking*. In every province, rural doctors are becoming increasingly scarce, pointing to shocking declines in their numbers, an erosion in morale resulting from overwork, isolation and burnout, and vanishing access to their patients' needed secondary and specialist care. Doctor-patient ratios off part of the story. One doctor serves every 200 people in urban Canada. In rural areas, that ratio slides to one for every

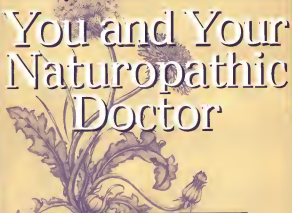


Taylor weekly flying out to a remote B.C. community

800 people. The nine million Canadians living outside major centres also have shorter life expectancies and higher mortality rates than their urban cousins. Mike Bloom, a geriatric at the University of Northern British Columbia in Prince George, who will host a national conference on rural health this autumn, reaches a pointed conclusion: "From the perspective of people who live in rural areas," he says, "there actually is a two-tier health system, rural and urban."

The physician shortage is the easiest disparity to identify. Across the country, rural populations have stopped falling and even begun rising as aging boomers discover second life can often be cheaper and more pleasant in the country. But Canada-wide, the number of doctors serving that population is dropping—by 15 per cent between 1994 and 1998,

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What Is Naturopathic Medicine?

Considered in record numbers are seeking alternatives to conventional medical treatments. For many, the answer lies in the holistic approach to healing known as naturopathic medicine.

With its emphasis on the ancient medical principles "do no harm" and "the healing power of nature," naturopathic medicine is the safest, most comprehensive approach to natural health care, says naturopathic doctor Robert Van Horlick, president of the Canadian Naturopathic Association. And after years of decline, it is experiencing a tremendous boost in popularity.

The modern roots of naturopathic medicine lie in nature cure, a system for treating diseases with natural agents that was popular in 19th-century Europe. Benedict Lust brought it to North America in 1896, later coining the term naturopathy to embrace the various therapies and disciplines that form this unified approach to healing.

Naturopathic medicine enjoyed early acceptance in Canada. It was a regulated profession in British Columbia and Ontario during the 1920s. But the growth slowed after the Second World War, when antibiotics and advanced surgical techniques seemed to render nature-based healing obsolete. As the limits of conventional medicine became more apparent, however, interest in natural healing practices is booming again.

The philosophical basis of naturopathic medicine is unique. Unlike conventional medicine, which treats or suppresses symptoms, it addresses the cause of illness. The patient is viewed as an organic whole, thus the term holistic medicine. And since naturopathic medicine uses non-toxic, natural source medicines and gentle, non-invasive treatments, it is safe.

In the naturopathic paradigm, the doctor is a teacher and the body a self-regulating mechanism. NDs emphasize self-responsibility, including the importance of proper diet, exercise and rest. "My role is that of coach," says Mark Perival, a New Hamburg, Ont., ND. "I educate and support my clients as they take the steps necessary to access the healing wisdom of their bodies."

A naturopathic consultation begins with an in-depth patient history. The ND may also conduct a physical examination and laboratory tests to assist in the diagnosis. Following a thorough assessment, the ND employs various therapies to facilitate the healing process.

The seven major therapies include:

- Clinical nutrition:** examines the relationship between diet and disease.
- Botanical (herbal) medicine:** naturopathic doctors use plant-based remedies.
- Homeopathic medicine:** based on the principle "like cures like," it uses minute amounts of natural substances to stimulate the body's self-healing.
- Oriental Medicine/Acupuncture:** the use of diet, plant-based remedies and acupuncture needles to treat and prevent disease.
- Hydrotherapy:** hot and cold water are used to stimulate immunity and circulation.
- Naturopathic manipulation:** a series of hands-on treatments for the spine, joints and soft tissues.
- Lifestyle counselling:** an exploration of the patient's physical, emotional and nutritional environment.

Van Horlick believes Canadians can benefit greatly from naturopathic medicine, especially when used in conjunction with conventional techniques. "Integrative medicine is the way of the future," he says, "ideally, the two systems should work together to benefit the patient and the health care system."

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How Naturopathic Doctors are Trained

As interest in complementary health care grows, many young people are choosing careers in naturopathic medicine. Students at the Toronto-based Canadian College of Naturopathic Medicine (CCNM) face a training program renowned for its thoroughness and rigour.

"The program is tremendously challenging," says Cory Ross, DC, DPH, CCNM's vice president, academic. "Students need a strong understanding of conventional medicine because naturopathic training uses the same medical science textbooks and examinations as the allopathic system. They also study naturopathic philosophy, principles and practices."

The learning begins well before students enter CCNM, which offers Cassini's only recognized four-year full-time program for naturopathic doctors. Admission requirements include three years of university study including specific prerequisite courses. The majority of entrants have a Bachelor of Science degree.

Every class includes students with medical degrees from European universities. "Most come from Poland and Russia, where the approach to medical training is more rigorous than in North America," says Ross. "They have studied botanical medicine or another naturopathic model, such as acupuncture."

Prospective students need certain personal qualities, including initiative, maturity and responsibility, he adds. "Problem-solving skills are also essential because diagnosis and assessment require practitioners to marshal a vast store-

house of knowledge on the patient's behalf."

CCNM's program, which includes more than 4,000 hours of classroom training, covers basic medical sciences, diagnosis, naturopathic principles and therapeutics as well as the seven modalities — dental nutrition, botanical medicine, homeopathic medicine, oriental medicine/acupuncture, hydrotherapy, naturopathic manipulation and lifestyle counselling. Students write standardized Naturopathic Physicians Licensing Examinations (NPLEX) following their second and fourth years.

Supervised clinical experience is a major part of the program during the third and fourth years. "The clinical setting allows students to apply their theoretical knowledge to social interactions with patients," explains Deborah Gold, CCNM's director of clinical education. "They require 1,500 hours of clinical education, part of which can be acquired at the college clinic as well as our external satellite teaching clinics in the Toronto area."

CCNM's new campus, scheduled to open this September in North York will feature North America's largest naturopathic clinic, says CCNM president David Schlecht. "The clinic will continue our long-standing tradition of providing high-quality naturopathic care to the public." Schlecht is excited about the profession's future in Canada. "By 2003, there will be at least 1,000 licensed NDs in Canada, up from the current figure of 463," he says. "In 2000, we will produce 113 NDs, followed by 145 in 2001."

While most graduates enter private practice, education and research are also burgeoning career opportunities. Some NDs provide consulting services to manufacturers of nutritional supplements, such as Toronto-based Sarna Health and Nutrition Inc.

The presence of an ND on the company's scientific advisory committee helps to assure the high quality of Sarna's products, says Rob McMasser, vice president of marketing. "We wanted a naturopathic doctor because the excellence of their training and the integrity of their educational institutions is second to none."

Finding a Naturopathic Doctor

Intelligent consumers shop around, especially when choosing a health care practitioner. Now a toll-free information and referral service can help them find the naturopathic doctor (ND) who will best satisfy their needs.

The service was recently launched by the Canadian Naturopathic Association (CNA) in partnership with Vancouver-based Natural Factors and Nutrition House of Richmond Hill, Ont. A call to 1-877-NAT9RTH (838-7284) provides information about NDs across Canada as well as the answers to commonly asked questions. It also offers contact information for the CNA, provincial naturopathic associations and The Canadian College of Naturopathic Medicine. "We're excited about the NAT9RTH line because it helps us meet the surging public demand for naturopathic doctors," says Van Horick.

The line's sponsors are also enthusiastic. "This service brings together suppliers, retailers and practitioners for the benefit of the client," says Richard Ferson, natural sales manager for Natural Factors, a manufacturer of nutritional supplements. Wayne Purvis agrees. "By helping people to access qualified NDs, we are ensuring that they will return to us better informed and healthier," says the president of Nutrition House, a national retailer of nutritional supplements.

Callers know that a naturopathic doctor is qualified to CNA standards when they use the toll-free line or contact a provincial naturopathic association, with Carole Galvin, a Fredericton ND. Additionally, in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario naturopathic doctors must be licensed or registered with the province's regulatory body. Regulation protects the public by establishing procedures for examination, compliance against members of the pro-

fession and procedures for discipline. Responsible practitioners in all provinces also belong to their professional associations, which liaise with government and the public.

After obtaining the names of several NDs, the next step is to determine their focus of practice. Naturopathic doctors have distinct styles, says Glenn Cassie, executive director of the British Columbia Naturopathic Association.

Assessing the potential for a strong dis-

tinguished relationship is a crucial aspect of the selection process. "This relationship is at the core of healing," says Ferson.

Even the best referral service can't screen for communication skills, personal notes. "Trust your gut feelings. You are accepting the doctor rather than the other way around. Do you feel that he or she will honour your uniqueness? If so, your chances of a successful relationship are greatly enhanced."

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How Naturopathic Medicine Can Improve Your Health

Max Zidel was three months old when he developed chronic ear infections. A series of medical specialists prescribed antibiotics for the Toronto boy. Then came the operation. By the age of five, Max's ear had been surgically drained eight times.

Finally, his mother, Denise, visited Thornhill, Ont., ND Nat. Kenos. "I hadn't last been to conventional medicine, but I was desperate," she explains.

Kenos recommended that sugar, yeast and dairy products be eliminated from Max's diet. She prescribed vitamins to boost his immune system and suggested massage to promote drainage and warm compresses to relieve pain.

The results were dramatic. "Max's infections cleared up almost immediately and he's had just one recurrence in the past 22 months," says Zidel.

Max's story illustrates a growing trend. Canadians are seeking alternative treatments for problems ranging from attention deficit disorder to cancer.

Complementary medicine works best when used for preventive purposes, says Kenos. "At the first sign of a cold, parents should eliminate sugar from the child's diet because it irritates the immune system. I recommend vitamins and gingerol, which has properties similar to those of antibiotics without side-effects."

For years, Sharon Barney treated her migraine headaches with conventional phar-

maceuticals but found that the cure was worse than the affliction. "Nothing helped and the side effects, including lethargy and depression, were dreadful," says the Toronto woman. Finally, she consulted Toronto ND Angela Moore, who recommended that Barney overhaul her diet. She also prescribed vitamins, minerals and amino acids. Within five weeks, all hereditary medicine was added the change was profound. "Dec. 7, 1997, was the date of my last migraine," Barney reports.

Barney's experience highlights the role of nutritional supplements and proper diet in naturopathic treatment, says John Mason, a Vancouver ND. "As the patient improves her diet, chronic diseases disappear and the body corrects itself."

Mason's book, *The Secrets to Great Health*, explains the liver's role in disease causation. "The liver acts as a filter for the digestive system," he says. "Anything that improves its function can help prevent or treat illness."

For those with serious medical conditions, naturopathic medicine can complement conventional medical treatments. "I see many breast cancer patients and I can usually help to reduce the side effects of radiation and chemotherapy," says Suzanne Casarico, ND, of Montreal. Casarico emphasizes that a proper lifestyle is the key to preventing disease.

Edmonton ND Wayne Stabile agrees. "People don't realize that psychological factors have far-reaching effects on their health," he says. "Scientific studies prove that prolonged stress damages all bodily systems, including the immune system."

Naturopathic medicine focuses on the importance of basics, such as drinking enough water, chewing your food well and breathing properly. Stabile adds, "These are the fundamentals of good health, along with sufficient sleep, adequate exercise and a good mental attitude. Your naturopathic doctor can help you build from there."



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Approximately 450 registered NDs currently practice in Canada, most of them in Ontario and British Columbia.

In British Columbia, naturopathic physicians are partly covered by the provincial Medical Services Plan. Other provinces do not provide this coverage. Many private health insurance plans cover a portion of naturopathic services. Check your policy or ask your employer for details.

If you are looking for an ND near you or are interested in obtaining more information about the profession, you can call the Canadian Naturopathic Association's toll-free information and referral service at 1-877-NATPATH (438-7284).

Information is also available from the following organizations:

Canadian Naturopathic Association
Phone: (416) 233-1043 / Fax: (416) 233-2024

The Canadian College of Naturopathic Medicine
Phone: (416) 486-8384 / Fax: (416) 486-8421

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Quebec Association of Naturopathic Physicians
Phone: (514) 379-4675 Fax: (514) 627-3111

New Scotia Naturopathic Association
Phone: (902) 538-6733

Health Cover



First (top right) and patients in replacement

according to a study published last year. The decline continues. British Columbia alone lost an average of more than two country doctors each month between late June and the middle of March (129 remain out of 399 a year earlier). "Some provinces," concluded the national study's author, Dr. Peter Huxton Cripps of Huxleyburg, Ont., "have undertaken a physician attrition rate that equals rural exodus by 2006 if it continues."

Those who remain have begun to fight back. After 22 beleaguered doctors at five small northern B.C. communities withdrew emergency services last year, the province accepted a consultant's recommendation to pay them extra for being on call. It also agreed to pay their bonus separately to other physicians, allowing rural doctors much-needed time off to upgrade skills or exchange income.

More quietly, small-town physicians across Canada are embracing the Internet to end their isolation, creating a surprisingly effective new virtual voice for rural health care. "I have more in common with a doctor in Port McNellie than I do with people in my province or Ontario," says Dr. Patrick Vane, who works in Dryden, Ont., 300 km northwest of Thunder Bay. Vane is president of the Society of Rural Physicians of Canada, founded in 1995. With more than 800 members, it has flourished in cyberspace, sponsoring online discussion groups and a professional journal that lets rural physicians exchange ideas. The ability of country doctors to get together on the Internet, says Vane, has encouraged them to act on their shared sense of being under the clouds. "Things have gotten a lot better," Vane says. "We're in rural practice because we enjoy what we're doing, and we enjoy the communities we're part of. We see things starting to turn around."

The rural doctor have plenty caught as least one eye their numbers. Last August, the society Vane heads urged Health Minister Allan Rock to name a senior adviser on rural health. Among the following month, Black ruralist Sherrill, Que., physician John Watson as the first executive director of a new national Office of Rural Health. The western country doctor, his appointment was "a recognition that there is a real rural-urban disparity in access to services. It is a national problem." As well, Watson's federal budget dedicated \$50 million to rural health care over the next three years.

Vane's group is also pushing for change on other fronts. It has secured the College of Family Physicians of Canada's approval of a model curriculum for medical schools to use to train new, more qualified country doctors. The group is also pushing pressure on licensing boards to allow the profession's prevailing province-by-province license system. Instead, it wants doctors with rural medicine skills to be able to provide relief for colleagues in need when they are present.

But looking up the number of physicians alone will not reverse the erosion of rural health care. When even the largest urban centers are feeling the strains of long waiting lines and

overloaded hospitals, the cascading pressures can't most accurately at the margins: in the small communities that are community at the bottom end of one consolidation scheme after another in rural Ontario, as the number of hospitals delivering has been dropped by 20 per cent between 1988 and 1995, underestimatingly found the procedure available only in larger and more

distant centers. And those centers can be overwhelmed. In mid-May, the regional hospital in Campbell River—where Port McNellie is supposed to direct care in remote health—advised the five smaller hospitals that depended upon it that it had no free beds for any medical category other than obstetrics. Four days later, obstetrics, too, was closed to admissions. "It happens two or three times a month," says Dr. Peter Cripps of a nurse service, Linda LaBarre, "usually for 16 to 24 hours."

Not well-run doctors can the lead on from here that are often staffed by other overworked, overstressed practitioners. At Huxleyburg, another stop on the Port McNellie circuit flying clinic, nurse Elizabeth Frost provides the local medical care for 200 people. "I have no replacement here," says Frost, who is on call 24 hours a day. "I get very stressed having no professional colleague to talk to."

Technology may provide a partial answer. Several provinces

Doctors in distant settlements are fighting their isolation by embracing the Internet and tele-medicine

have experimented with tele-medicine—helping patients in smaller hospitals or clinics to specialists in larger centers through data links and videoconferencing. New Scotia has gone further: its \$18-million network in 1992-93 hospitals, including the region's major medical centers in Halifax, was completed at the end of March. Among other capabilities, it allows a doctor in Halifax to examine patients in outlying communities by remotely controlling a video camera mounted in an examination room. The technology promises to save patients and their families countless hours travelling to and from Halifax to see specialists.

But sometimes only a little is far from enough. While a mounting number of communities struggle to attract or retain physicians, Port McNellie is holding its own better than most. As well as their flying doctor service, its five physicians conduct research on rural medical practice and teach out-of-town students at the University of British Columbia medical students. And just about every Wednesday, depending on the weather and the winds in the windy ranges of the wild west coast, a doctor flies to Zebulon. ■

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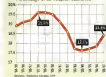
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National caesarean rate

Percentage of all hospital deliveries



Provincial caesarean rate

Percentage of all hospital deliveries, 1996-1997

Alberta	22
British Columbia	29
Manitoba	20
New Brunswick	21
Ontario	17
Quebec	16
Saskatchewan	17
Atlantic	17
British Columbia	22

Susana Mercillo with baby Patrick, husband Robert and son Cole, infant.

which statistics are available) were by caesarians up from 17.8 per cent the previous year.

Why is the rate, which began dropping in the late 1980s, going up again? One reason, says Dr. Alice Benjamin, director of obstetrics at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital, is simply that more women are requesting them. "Women are often having babies at a later age than in the past," says Benjamin, "and when difficulties arise in labour, they are likely to demand intervention."

Efforts to persuade women who have had a caesarian section to attempt a vaginal birth can meet considerable resistance. Dr. Javier Wilton, an obstetrician and gynecologist in St. St. Mary's, Ont., comments: "Women are saying, 'Thanks for telling me about the options, but please don't risk a caesarian. I'm not interested in labouring.'"

Obstetrician Dr. Jon Berens of Toronto's Women's College Hospital says some women are demanding caesarians for their first baby, even when no problems are anticipated. "Caesarians originally were for the safety of the baby," says Berens. "But more and more these days we are doing them for the mother's satisfaction."

Are Canadian doctors performing too many caesarians? Most experts think they are—but hesitate to say how the right number would be. Levels in

Canada are still generally below those in the United States, where 20-7 per cent of all births are caesarians. But rates in some European countries are much lower—the Netherlands' rate is 10.4 per cent, and Denmark and Norway have rates of about 12-5 per cent.

No one is quite sure why, but caesarian rates vary dramatically among the provinces, with Newfoundland at 22 per cent, according to the highest. In Regina, obstetrician Dr. George Carson attributes Saskatchewan's 16-per-cent rate—Canada's lowest—to the province's rural character. "As a farming province," says Carson, "we know that surgery has to be done—when it will be."

Caesarians are done for a variety of reasons. One of the most common is dystocia (prolonged labour), that can reduce the mother's ability to produce a baby. Caesarians are also used to avoid breech births—the problem that arises when a baby's legs or buttocks, instead of its head, threaten to emerge first—or to deliver babies whose heads are too big for natural passage.

It seems clear that a complex interplay of medical and human factors is involved in the rising rate. One area of concern is the widespread use of synthetic hormones to induce labour. The drugs can increase the likelihood of a caesarian when induction occurs, but the cervix—the narrow opening of the uterus—has expanded enough for the baby to pass through it. Some

physicians believe that epidural, or spinal, injections commonly used to control labour pains also lead to more caesarians. "Epidurals can affect the mother's ability to feel what's going on," says Dr. Stefan Gryboski, a family physician at Children's and Women's Health Centre of British Columbia in Vancouver, "and that can be associated with non-productive labour and caesarian section."

Technology probably plays a role as well, particularly the widespread use of electronic monitors to keep tabs on the fetus' condition throughout labour. The aim is to pick up signs of fetal distress, possibly in high-risk pregnancies and when a mother's efforts during a prolonged delivery can sap her ability to deliver the baby. But many doctors think continuous monitoring, in low-risk births leads to needless caesarians. "It's an overly sensitive tool," says Gryboski. "You may get a long labour and a lot of hard-to-interpret monitoring evidence—and the two things can persuade mother and doctor to go for a caesarian when it isn't really called for." Because of that, many Canadian hospitals are switching from continuous to intermittent monitoring in low-risk cases.

As for women having unperformed caesarians, there can be good medical reasons, including the risk that a uterus scarred by a previous caesarian can rupture during vaginal delivery, endangering mother and child. Current surgical procedures—a horizontal incision low on the uterus—minimize that risk. Most hospitals now have programs aimed at getting women to try a vaginal birth after a caesarian. And others, as with Susana Mercillo, they succeed. But many women just say no. "I'm nearly 40 now, professional woman who is having their first child in their 30s and they are just prepared to bypass the whole natural process of labour," says Dr. Karen Rivlin, chief of obstetrics and gynecology at Toronto's Mount Sinai Hospital. "This isn't widespread yet, but the trend is growing." It is one trend among several that could frustrate efforts to reduce the rising rate of caesarian sections. ■

As nature intended

Experts say Canada must cut its high rate of caesarean deliveries

By Mark Nichola

In October, 1996, at the age of 32, Susana Mercillo gave birth to her first child in a Vancouver hospital. Seven pounds, eight ounces Cole was fine, but Susana wasn't. By the time her son entered the world, she had endured 48 hours of painful and unproductive labour, been treated with synthetic hormones intended to speed delivery and received a spinal injection to numb her pain. Finally, with a heart monitor detecting signs of possible fetal distress, Mercillo agreed to a caesarian section—a difficult procedure that allowed her baby to be delivered through a vertical incision. Even then, her ordeal was not over: doctors subsequently had to use drugs to reduce a buildup of fluids in Mercillo's body. By contrast, the birth of her second son, Patrick, last November was a shining example of how an eight-pound, three-ounce

baby can be born the way nature planned it—no hormones, no spinal injection, and vaginal delivery after only 48 hours of labour. "It was," says Mercillo, "just wonderful."

Mercillo, who lives in the Vancouver suburb of White Rock with husband Robert and their two boys, will soon know why the first delivery was such a grueling experience. But in opting for a vaginal birth the second time, she did exactly what physicians across the country are encouraging for women who have previously had caesarians. Their advice is part of a campaign aimed at reducing the number of surgical deliveries, which—after dipping over the past decade—has begun to rise again. According to the Canadian Institute for Health Information, 18.4 per cent of all deliveries in Canada in 1996-1997 (the most recent year for



While the Real poll suggested a second majority Harris government, the Environics poll terrified the Tories. Only a few days earlier, Harris was campaigning on cozy plan-tations in the lead, with the Liberals written off on the basis of a fluff performance by McGuinty in the May 16 televised leaders' debate. Suddenly, the odds shifted to the possibility of a minority government in Canada's largest province, with union leaders like Marshall Jones of the Ontario English Catholic Teachers Association inferring the third-party NDP's refusal not to support Harris under any circumstances.

Under the Environics scenario, the NDP would hold the balance of power in a majority legislature with only seven of the 103 seats, according to a projection by political consultants G. F. Murray Research. But Harris professed to be unimpressed. "Environics is rubbish," he told a radio audience, as he continued to campaign on a noticeably low-key style, calling his opponents by their first names and avoiding clear of the trash talk that had been the hallmark of all three leaders in the campaign's opening weeks. But, University of Toronto political scientist Graham White observed, "the Environics poll is good news for the opposition parties in that the field is broadly wide open to all sorts of possibilities," even though, he added, "it is not clear where the no-man's-land is going."

The latest polls showed a shift from both front-runners in the NDP's belatedly made a strong debate performance by leader Howard Ferguson. They brought the NDP back from the brink of obliteration to semi-respectability—and probably ensured much closer fights in about 35 months. After some initial waffling, Hanquamp clearly stated he would not back a minority Harris government. But stepping up the pressure from his side of the fence, McGuinty declared he would not be a key Hanquamp demand—that the 30-per-cent Harris tax cut be rolled back to the wealthiest 10 per cent of Ontarians



Hanquamp, McGuinty (right), Harris on the campaign trail (opposite) Tories and Liberals were running neck and neck

—if he was faced with leading a minority Liberal government. "I won't see them to get into the premier's chair," he said.

While the party leaders jockey for best-guess positions, the campaign itself has an air of unreality about it. Dogged by pessimism at almost every step, as were premiers Bob Rae and David Peterson before him, Harris has striven to train leaders—factory union, media outlets and chamber of commerce leaders—with a heavy police presence to keep agitation away. He's a recent stop in Thornhill, just north of Toronto, about attending a Harris luncheon address in a banquet hall had to run the gauntlet of three police checks before serving in the door.

By contrast, the opposition leaders have wandered the province like tourists, plugging into small crowded shopping malls with TV cameras in tow. Following Harris into Thornhill, McGuinty held a media screen at the side of a Shoppers Drug Mart, with bewildered salesclerks looking on. But the Liberal leader has been given anything but a free ride. A small taste of the tone of the campaign: Toronto radio station CFBT put up a cardboard cartoon of McGuinty lurching off a podium as three cartoon gunmen at machine guns pointed at the starer for a news conference challenge.

Experts have given the campaign a fading grade. While says he could mold an Ontario election where the range of issues under debate has been so narrow—limited almost exclusively to tax cuts, health care and education. Political scientist Sid Neufeld at the University of Western Ontario says his latest impression is of a campaign that has been

"much dumber than most" and filled with what party strategists call "issue monomaniac," instead of making the same few slogans over and over again.

But what most Ontarians are likely to remember is the unremitting barrage of attack ads. (By most measures, at least \$6 million in election advertising will have flooded the airwaves over the four-week

campaign, most of it from the three main parties, but at least some from other groups like the Toronto Transit Commission, the Building Trades Council, the Canadian Auto Workers and teachers' unions.) A largely U.S. phenomenon, the aggressive attack on an opponent's record or character has been part of Ontario's political landscape at least since 1979, when the NDP staged a hard-driving commercial in the form of a newsreel to recoup the many little scandals of David Peterson's Liberal governments.

This time around, the Tories have portrayed McGuinty as "a weak leader who is just not up to the job." The Grns have labelled Harris "Mean, Mad, Mean." It took the Liberals until the first week of the campaign to show a television ad with their own leader in it. Last week, Liberal sources had there was still one big negative commercial in the bag—which they called the "Union of"—that might get by rolled out in the final days of the campaign.

Are negative ads effective? After pioneering the genre in Ontario, the NDP did win the 1990 election. "American research says negative ads work because people remember them," says political scientist Robert McDevitt at York University. "Of course, the other American finding is that these kinds of ads tend to depress voter turnout; they tell people off so they just don't bother voting." But four weeks of did-not, did-not politics advertising may not be enough to turn off overworked Ontarians. They have had four years of Harris reforms in education, health care and government to roll over—and the battle lines are tightly drawn. ■

Restless Voters

NDP and its predecessors, the CCF, have the enviable record of winning every June election. All eight of them, after the party first came to power in 1944.

For those incumbents already in the pool, the water wasn't any warmer. In New Brunswick's first post-Frank McKenna election, the governing Liberals, heading towards the June 7 vote, watched in dismay as their present lead was eaten away—by upstart Conservative Leader Bernard Lord, who looks younger yet is an older than his 33 years (page 38). And in Ontario, in one of the nearest thing to a runoff in recent years, Conservative Premier Mike Harris and his Liberal opponents, Dalton McGuinty, were locked in a race that appeared closer than anyone had expected.

An Environics Research Group Ltd. poll for the CBC, released on Friday—two days before the June 3 vote—gave Harris' Conservatives 42-per-cent support among undecided voters, compared with the Liberals' 41 per cent and a modestly margin NDP with 14. On Saturday, however, an *Argus* Real poll for *The Globe and Mail* showed the Tories with an eight-point lead—45 per cent to 37 for the Liberals and 18 for the New Democrats.

By Robert Sheppard

Cautious, voters ahead What promised to have been a full-throated election season with provincial campaigns spawning like crazy has withered somewhat under the cool spring gaze of a wary electorate. Incumbent governments in the West, first in Manitoba, then last week in Saskatchewan, postponed their campaigns indefinitely until at least the fall when the public mood might be more accommodating. Saskatchewan Premier Roy Romanow could a last unseated labour dispute with provincial unions for his own bid, but it was nearly a hint to swallow the ruling

After a nasty, negative campaign, pollsters found the Ontario electorate closely divided on its options

New Brunswick's moment of truth

Is the tide turning against Camille Thériault's Liberals?

By John DeMont

No one has ever called Camille Thériault a polisher, confident public speaker. The 44-year-old New Brunswick premier looked like he would rather be anywhere other than facing off with the other party leaders as their televised debate began in a

Montreal CBC studio last week. He stumbled through his carefully scripted opening remarks, and seemed off balance when NDP Leader Elizabeth Wiles, 51, and Bernard Lord, 33, the powerful-looking Conservative leader, barreled away at his government's record. In the end, all even Liberal loyalists could say about Thériault's performance was that he delayed the knock-out punch. "For an incumbent premier, a tie is as good

as a win," declared Mike Thériault, the leader's brother and Liberal communications director, after the debate.

It would be a stretch far even the most partisan Liberals to call the current campaign a good one for their party. In the run-up to the election call on May 8, Grit strategists conceded they might have a few of their 45 seats. That, though, was before the campaign began. Now, as New Brunswick prepares to vote on June 7, the momentum has shifted to the Tories—who were out of the campaign with just one of the legislature's 55 seats—and the Liberals suddenly find themselves in their first real election battle since Frank McKenna took over from Richard Hatfield's Conservatives in 1987. A fourth consecu-



Wile-Right, Lord and Thériault: a disagreeable shift in momentum

tive TV "smack" controversy that erupted, or mirrored, the race in Ontario. In fact, with the New Brunswick Liberals planning to spend no more than \$700,000 and the Tories only \$500,000, there has been no blizzard of advertising over the province. The first half of the campaign consisted largely of Thériault and Lord trying to one-up each other with blunt promises to cut taxes, invest in health care and stimulate jobs. The strategy, however, is clearly failing: The ruling Liberals, as clearly failing, the ruling Liberals. A poll by Moncton-based Opiniforum Research for KTV News on Friday put the Tories ahead following the debate, with 33 per cent of respondents to 27 per cent for the Liberals, sure for the NDP with 29 per cent undecided. Another poll, to be released

this week by Halifax-based Corporate Research Associates Inc., shows that Liberal support has dropped 10 points in three months, to 44 per cent of decided voters, with the Tories at 37 per cent—a 10-point rise during the same period. An election day lesson, there is still a large block of undecided voters—at least a 40 per cent of the electorate, according to a recent CBC poll. And that, says Don Desautels, a political scientist at the University of New Brunswick at Saint John, may be a sign of genuine public confusion. "For voters, the Liberals used to mean Frank McKenna," Desautels says. "Now that he's gone, things have changed."

New Brunswick's altered political landscape has been evident in the course of the campaign. The off-orientation of the anti-French Confederation of Regions party, which formed the official opposition after the 1991 election with eight seats, has disappeared in the 1995 election, has seen many of its supporters in the English-speaking, southern part of the province back to the Tory party. But the Liberals are struggling to hold on in places like the largely Acadian northern peninsula, where the economy is in shambles and

where, in the 1997 federal election, New Democrat Brian Goslin, a blousy leader, asserted Liberal cabinet minister Doug Young in a surprise upset in Acadia-Bathurst.

Analysts do not have to search far for an explanation. Thériault, who took over from McKenna after the former premier stepped down in 1997, lacks McKenna's charisma and his ability to carry ratings on the strength of his own appeal—as even his own party members acknowledge. The trouble with no burning issue emerging to focus the attention of voters, the Liberals find themselves in rough individual races for many of the 55 seats. They will be decided on local issues—with Liberal candidates fighting for their political lives. ■

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Bruce Wallace

Bombs and rhetoric

There was some nervousness in the halls of NATO's Brussels headquarters last week about the influx of Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy's spin. The army NATO bombs over Yugoslavia that are causing civilian deaths and destruction have provoked Axworthy to admonish military commanders to get their targets right and stop hitting hospitals and embassies. The notion of politicians micro-managing the war raised eyebrows at NATO, where the corridor chatter touched on whether Axworthy was outsteering his old long-haired, anti-war, anti-Pontagat instincts. Could a leading advocate of the human-accident war be going wobbly?

The suggestion drew a rather muted double from Axworthy in his Parliament Hill office last week. "While co-opting is well these days," he said of his relations with the Pentagon generals. But Axworthy shows no sign of losing from the fight in Yugoslavia. "All I was trying to say was that if you are conducting war based on human security principles, then the means have to be in some accordance with the ends," he says. You can't, he noted, be killing the civilian you have come to save.

But too many chips have been placed on the outcome of the Kosovo war to head for the exit now. Most important, the promise of safe return made to the expelled Kosovars has yet to be kept. The future of the NATO alliance, frayed by the doubts of prosecuting a war in which no member country was directly threatened, is rarely now in question. And the mission to build civil society around the world, which Axworthy has made the foundation of Canadian foreign policy, is still on the line. The Kosovo war, justified by NATO as a fight for Western values rather than selfish national interests, makes it "very much a war of influence and ideas," says Axworthy.

The mission has been at the forefront of the World's new drive to make humanitarian intervention the guiding impulse of foreign policy (though British Prime Minister Tony

Blair, with his higher profile and willingness to back up his moralizing with ground troops, has usurped leadership of the crusade). It was Axworthy who hit on the idea of collating a bunch of positive impulses—like banning land mines, creating an International Criminal Court and ending the use of child soldiers—into a foreign policy he called the human security agenda. And the foreign minister accepts that the caddy rhetoric is only as good as the sharpness of the sword to back it up. "The sad from the beginning: there's an enforcement dimension to this," he says.

But enforcement is what NATO, with all its air might, has yet to deliver on Kosovo. Two weeks ago, Axworthy travelled to Norway to convene a meeting of 11 foreign ministers, all pledging to pressure Prime Minister Jean Chrétien to pressure the United States to pressure the UN Security Council. Meanwhile, the policy itself was angling in Kosovo's snow-capped hills. NATO's intervention was supposed to send a message to warlords and thugs around the world that the forces of good had behind every bush, ready to pounce to protect the innocent at the first sign of anarchy. Instead, by waging war from the air, they signalled their willingness to kill for high ideals, but not die for them. And the possibility of a slippery escape by negotiation from the unpleasant task of waging a full war hangs over it all.

Like other Western leaders, Axworthy admits all will turn out well when the war is won and Kosovo villages are rebuilt. He believes Kosovo will prove a precedent for future interventions. But getting there has been such an anguished ride it is hard to imagine NATO smugly going down this road again any time soon. At the next sign of a mismanaged minority, they are most likely to retreat in the tall grass. And unless that changes, unless those arguing for a civil society accept that it comes only at a price, the concept of a global human security agenda will remain one of those nice-sounding ideas to mull over at conferences.



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Guilty pleas

Five men with alleged ties to white supremacist groups pleaded guilty to manslaughter in the brutal January, 1996, beating death of Nirmal Singh Gill, caretaker of the Guru Nanak Sikh temple in Surrey, B.C. The Crown asked that the men—who are aged between 18 and 27 and were originally charged with second-degree murder, should instead plead guilty to manslaughter for manslaughter (the maximum for manslaughter is life imprisonment). Sentencing will take place in September.

Regan back in court

The Crown launched its appeal of a 1994 Nova Scotia Supreme Court decision that resulted in nine retrials charged against former premier Gerald Regan being stayed. In that ruling Justice Michael MacDonald said that Crown attorneys compromised their objectivity during the investigation into allegations against the former premier. On Dec. 18, Regan, also a former federal Liberal cabinet minister, was acquitted of eight other sex-related charges.

Crash report

The Transportation Safety Board of Canada released its final report into the 1997 crash of Air Canada Flight 646 in Fredrickton. The board concluded that the crash, which occurred just before midnight on Dec. 16 and seriously injured nine people, was the result of faulty ice as well as a combination of regulatory and human shortcomings. The report noted that in most other countries, an approach would not have been allowed under similar conditions.

A controversial decision

The Supreme Court of Canada has ruled that the law should not be used to argue that a person's sexual orientation is a discriminatory ground. In the case of *Meiorin*, a B.C. man who killed his wife in 1994 by stabbing her 47 times, the court said the trial judge was correct in not allowing Meiorin to use his defence. It said an accused must provide proof of the defence. The opinion was announced (previously the case was on the Crown's to disprove the accused's claim). The court—sitting without a dissent—said that the law should not be used to argue that a person's sexual orientation is a discriminatory ground. In the case of *Meiorin*, a B.C. man who killed his wife in 1994 by stabbing her 47 times, the court said the trial judge was correct in not allowing Meiorin to use his defence. It said an accused must provide proof of the defence. The opinion was announced (previously the case was on the Crown's to disprove the accused's claim). The court—sitting without a dissent—said that the law should not be used to argue that a person's sexual orientation is a discriminatory ground.



Searching for clues in the Swissair tragedy

At a hangar near Halifax, the investigation into the Sept. 2, 1998, crash of Swissair Flight 111 continues. More than a million pieces of the MD-11 plane have been recovered off Peggy's Cove, with about 35,000 of those put together as investigators try to reconstruct the aircraft. But investigators said clues to the cause of the disaster, which killed all 220 people onboard, may still lie on the ocean floor.

An uproar over pension benefits

The federal Liberal government survived a backbench revolt as it pushed through legislation that will overhaul federal employee pension plans. Six Liberal MPs joined members of all four opposition parties in voting against Bill C-78, which passed by a vote of 137 to 116. But the reason for the opposition to the bill, which among other things guarantees survivor benefits to partners of pay and before civil servants, were 47 times. Tim Wappel, Liberal MP for the Toronto riding of Scarborough South

west, and he voted against the legislation because it was another step towards allowing same-sex marriage.

On the other hand, members of the Bloc Québécois—which is in favour of same-sex benefits—opposed the bill, calling it a blatant money grab because it also appropriates a \$30-billion surplus in the federal pension plan for the federal government. Even Brent Robinson, the openly gay NDP MP, voted against Bill C-78 because it "basically adds \$30 billion to the government's money." The Liberal government says that because it has covered past shortfalls in the pension plan, it should have carried over surpluses to bill C-78 now goes to the Senate.

Money for a tar ponds cleanup

The federal and Nova Scotia governments announced a \$62-million initiative, with \$37.9 million coming from Ottawa, to clean up the infamous Sydney tar ponds. The provincial government also said it will buy houses in one affected area where an arsenic-based substance has been leaching into houses. About 700,000 tonnes of sludge currently sit in the tar ponds—the legacy of a century of dependence on Cape Breton oil and coal production.

At the Front with the KLA

In the Mountains of the Damned along Albania's border with Kosovo, well-equipped guerrillas battle the Serbian army

By Barry Carr in Kosovo

The *komandant* is house tired, so exhausted by the rigours of battle that he can barely hold himself erect. He is a slim, bearded man, dressed in the red-flecked camouflage fatigues of the Kosovo Liberation Army. Like many field commanders in the KLA's security-obsessed world, he declines to offer his name, or any scrap of information about his identity. "Journalists can sometimes be as dangerous as Serbs," he remarks, cocking a suspicious eye at a visitor. But he is a familiar figure along northern Albania's border with Kosovo, as the rugged highlands are aptly named the *Montañas of the Damned*. For he is one of the KLA's senior commanders in the region. And last week the *komandant* was busy. "I am a soldier," he says, signalling the end of conversation by strapping his face on steel crutches, the usual, often say, of a Serbian sniper's well-aimed bullet. "A soldier's job is to fight," he adds. "Not to waste time giving interviews."

Judging by the evidence, he has not been wasting much time of late. As the winter was ushered out of the mountains,

headquarters in the northern Albanian town of Kukes last Wednesday, more than a thousand of his troops were engaged in an offensive 15 km away. They had advanced at dawn, striking from the hilltop border of Pograd in Albania across the border towards Placaj in the highlands south of the Drina River in Kosovo, apparently aiming to open a supply corridor to beleaguered KLA forces encircled in the hills above the western Kosovo city of Pristina. By mid-morning, the KLA had overrun its Serbian positions on the border, only to stall in the face of a fierce clash from Serbian tanks and artillery. By noon, however, NATO aircraft had created the first, wounding the Serbian forces with repeated high-altitude missile and bomb attacks. As of late last week, the KLA was inching towards Placaj, apparently having failed to achieve the primary objective of quickly opening a supply corridor.

It was, nevertheless, a triumph of sorts, one of the many tell-tale signs that are beginning to emerge about a possible change in the KLA's fortunes. After being soundly thrashed over the past two months, the once-raging band of lightly equipped and poorly trained irregulars is suddenly receiving battlefield



KLA soldiers in training at a camp in northern Albania while NATO looks the other way, arms flow to the liberation army

guns. If the trend continues, it may well indicate the KLA is on the verge of gaining some ascendancy over the combined forces in Kosovo of the regular Yugoslav army and its allies in the paramilitary police and armed militia. It is, no doubt, greatly the result of NATO's ongoing air assault, which is not only slowly dwindling President Slobodan Milosevic's military machine in the province, but also paring down the Yugoslav forces, preventing the crisscrossing of troops and armour that devastated the KLA in the war's early stages.

Official denials notwithstanding, there is also plenty of evidence to suggest that both NATO and the Albanian governments are quietly co-operating with the KLA, trading intelligence, assisting in recruitment and training, and overlooking arms shipments that violate an international embargo. "We have no international connections with the KLA," declared army Capt. Albert Molli of the Albanian defence ministry. "But at the same time, it is true that we are turning a blind eye to a lot of activities that clearly assist the KLA's war effort."

If pressed in private, NATO officials will concede the same. Despite the tacit military support, however, much of the credit for the KLA's brightening prospects must rest within the organisation itself. True, the KLA's political leadership remains badly divided, between those who support the so-called official Kosovo government of moderate—and elected—president Ibrahim Rugova, and backers of the more hardline Hashim Thaci, the 33-year-old self-appointed prime minister of what he and his encourage have been labelling Kosovo's interim government.

On the military front, however, gear and aid have been taken over since the appointment last month of battle-tested Croatian army Gen. Agim Ceka as the KLA's chief of staff. A Kosovo Albanian, Ceka has managed to impose a measure of military discipline, weeding out some of the more free-wheeling local commanders, imposing sober experienced ethnic Albanian officers from elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia, as well as forces in the field at Pristina, Holland and the United

States. "His [Milosevic] installed an ambitious command and control structure," says Mullis, who met with the KLA for the Albanian defense ministry. "There's now an officer corps, most of whom are graduates of the Yugoslav military academy. Not only do they know how the Yugoslav army works, they often are personally acquainted with the enemy commander."

For NATO, this is a double-edged sword. Civilian officers now claim to have 30,000 troops under their command in the field. While they may be lightly armed and rudimentarily



NATO general mission. In that event, the officers' force may find themselves having to forcibly disarm the KLA, or march elements within it, in order to impose a settlement. "None of us would welcome that prospect," confirms a Western ambassador in Tirana, the Albanian capital. "Which is the principal reason we have chosen to keep our distance from the KLA in public at least."

Behind the scenes, the story is different. And somewhere is that more evident than up in the Mountains of the Drenica. They stretch along the Albanian-Kosovo border from Macedonia in the south to Montenegro in the north, over gnarling houses from Tiana by road. It winds through spellbinding scenery: rushing streams, alpine ranches, pine forests, red-roofed villages and endless views of mountain peaks. At the end of the road into Kukes, a newly rim-shedder town scattered along steep hillsides of an ancient lake. The town is filled to overflowing with Kosovar refugees, hordes of journalists



Camouflaged KLA soldiers fighting to open supply routes

and herds of aid workers in July, where four-wheel-drive vehicles. There are soldiers everywhere, from everywhere. NATO troops with casual flags on their shoulder patches, Albanians in blurring Chinese-style olive drabs over a lonely detachment from the United Arab Emirates in incongruous desert camouflage.

Kukes is the headquarters of the Kosovo Liberation Army, where they call themselves *Qa-Qa-Ka*, from their Albanian-language name, *Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës*. They make no attempt to keep a low profile in Kukes. There is a media office in the town only hotel, hooked up to e-mail and the Internet. Not far away, beyond the chaotic houses in an abandoned village, sits the KLA's primary training facility, where recruits receive their initial indoctrination. It has in recent weeks been strictly off-limits to paying media eyes, possibly to hide the identity of the specialists doing the training behind one-way glass walls and barbed-wire fencing.

Inn Kukes live the army that keeps the KLA in being. Western governments have ousted KLA plans to lift the embargo imposed almost a decade ago on all arms sales to Yugoslavia. "If we had unrestricted access to Western arms," insists Jeta Krasniqi, the Thai government's information minister, "we could put 60,000 men in uniform." There has, however, been no attempt to curb the KLA's purchases on the black market. Mortars, machine-gun and sniper rifle components arrive in Kukes from the former Yugoslav republics of

Arbour's four-count indictment of Milosevic

The four charges laid by Canadian chief prosecutor Louise Arbour against Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and four senior officials at the international war-crimes tribunal in The Hague, covering events since the beginning of this year:

- **SEPARATION** at 740,000 Kosovo Albanians, a crime against humanity
- **MURDER** (two counts) of "hundreds" of Kosovo Albanian civilians, including 342 named people, one as a crime against humanity, a second as a violation of the customs of war
- **PERSECUTION** of Kosovo Albanians on political, racial and religious grounds, a crime against humanity



Arbour's indictment names the culprits

With a new chief of staff and a disciplined officer corps, the 30,000-strong KLA is no longer a ragtag band

Bosnia and Croatia, as well as from Albania through connections in Germany, Switzerland and Italy. Similar connections in Western Europe, the United States and Canada send uniforms, boots, field rations, radio communications gear and satellite telephones. Albanian army trucks have been seen carrying shipments from the cause of Chinese-manufactured AK-47s, anti-tank guns and rocket-propelled grenades.

The KLA critics, particularly overseas Serbian commentators in Europe and North America, claim that much of the organization's new effort is funded by links with Albanian notorious drug traffickers and racketeers. Last year, U.S. authorities branded the KLA an international terrorism organization, alleging it had killed its opponents with proceeds from the global heroin trade and with loans from known terrorists such as Afghan-based Mujahideen in Chechnya last October. Hashim Thaci, an Albanian law student on the eve of an official visit to the United States, firmly dismissed such charges.

"They also often write Miroslav Leskovski," he said. "New data would be quite a shock if we get supplies from the Mafia, the Marins and Osama bin Laden all in the same time." Other seasoned KLA observers also tend to view allegations about links with the underworld with some skepticism. One is retired Canadian army colonel Georges Bonder, now chief of staff in Albania for the Kosovo Verification Mission run by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. Bonder spent three months with the OSCE mission inside Kosovo, working in almost daily contact with KLA units, before moving to Albania when the KVM mission left the province. "In my experience both here and in Kosovo, I found the KLA to be a pretty clear-thinking, mature bunch of guys," he says. "As a matter of fact, I am not at all sure the Serbs who were drunk all the time, especially the paramilitaries."

Whatever the source of the KLA's financing, the Qa-Qa-Kos is no ragtag. Albania does not seem to be short of any arms except heavy weapons: the kind of medium- to long-range artillery supposed to take on and defeat tanks and armor. The war they are fighting seems largely unseen, conducted in classic guerrilla fashion in some of the most inaccessible terrain in Europe.

In wild country, marching along the Kosovo border south from Kukes to Toppo in the Montenegro border. It is also lawless, mixed with a local clan-structured population given to banditry and murderous blood feuds. The chief of police in the far northern town of Hajmatin Cant recently appeared in public, wearing a bulletproof vest previously stolen at gun-

point from a missing BBC television crew. Even the KLA tends to the area in strength. They advise journalists to do the same for reasons explicitly described by the KLA's Kosovo spokesman, Kadri Kryeziu, as "a certain lack of public order." That makes it impossible to independently confirm some of the reports of KLA claims of battlefield victories—the killing of dozens of Yugoslav soldiers outside the village of Prushik, or the rout of Serbian units near the city of Sava Roca.

The KLA's attempt to mount an offensive into Kosovo from hilltop Duga did, however, provide a rare glimpse of the kind of warfare that Kosovar irregulars and their Serbian adversaries are waging. The action took place in sight of the main Albanian-Kosovo border crossing, 15 km east of Kukes in the town of Morina. From 5 a.m. on May 25, the hill above Morina swarmed with the snarl of small arms fire, punctuated



Thugs leaving Edmondo's barbers'

Off to the Balkans

After NATO agreed to mine its presence in the Balkans from 28,000 to 50,000 troops, government sources in Ottawa believe Canada is prepared to double its current contribution of 850. Those already committed, mostly from the Edmonton-based Lord Strathcona's Horse Regiment, were crossing Canada last week ahead of an early June departure for Europe. But if the force is doubled, several military chief Gen. Maurice Baril, Canada's overworked soldiers—also stationed in Bosnia, the Galien Heights and 11 other overseas locations—for the prospect of a mission. Not addressed in Ottawa was whether the ground force would be asked to fight their way into Kosovo, the question not still bedevils NATO.

with an occasional explosion. The action moved steadily eastward along a crisscrossing ridge until Serbian artillery opened fire from a hilltop further south. The heavy guns' reports closed across the hills, followed by an explosive stamp and following clouds of debris on top of the ridge. Not long after, NATO's jet entered the action, heard but not seen high in the cloudless sky. Vigorous tanks roared in the air, each launched their ordnance, and moments later, when clouds and bright flames mushroomed along the Kosovo hillsides. The jet streaked for down to an area, perhaps two dozen acres in all. For the public record, NATO may be maintaining a discreet distance from the Kosovo Liberation Army. But in the Mountains of the Drenica, something else is happening. ■

When spring became winter

Ten years after Tiananmen, China's activists still suffer

By Tom Feneall

Sheng Xia separates out two large colour photographs of a baby-faced Beijing schoolchild named Zhang Jun. "It's so sad," Sheng murmurs as she carefully places the pictures of Jun on the dining room table in her small apartment in suburban Yizhuo. In one, 15-year-old Jun poses smiling against a tree, bearded against the first cold days of autumn in a heavy and overcast and long black scarf. In the other, Jun's chubby face is seen, her brown eyes closed, flower beneath the ragged red hole that a soldier's bullet has left in the middle of her forehead. "Jun," says Sheng, folding her arms across her chest and gazing at the picture of her fallen grandson. "Died in my husband's arms."

Jun, like thousands of students, workers and workers who fired the People's Liberation Army in Beijing's Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989, had been swept up in the pro-democracy movement that transformed the capital that spring. The demonstrators wanted freedom, but after nearly 50 days of nonviolent protest that threatened to spread beyond Beijing, the country's hardline leaders responded with tanks and guns—and left up to 3,000 people dead. Sheng (last name) and her husband, Deng Xia, stood with the students during the bloody massacre. And her work, as Chinese police kept the square sealed off and continued their crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators, the couple stayed in their thousands of people around the world in a candlelight vigil marking the 10th anniversary of the uprising. "Tiananmen was the last chance for democracy," Sheng said in the prepared a read of sheng, tried again and fish in her apartment. "We never had a before and we will never have it again."



Deng Xia and Sheng Xia with photos of the dead. "We will never have the chance again"

Sheng, 36, is now the Canadian correspondent for Radio Free Asia, a U.S.-funded network broadcasting into China. Husband Deng, 42, works as an economics technician. They are white working on a film in Beijing, consulting the virtues of China's one-child policy. The two became fiercely opposed to the Communist leadership, for their political backgrounds could hardly have been more different. In fact, the paths that led the couple to the square in 1989 intertwined with the history of China itself.

Deng's father had embraced communism from the start, joining Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary army when he was just 13. He eventually became a senior police officer in Beijing and eventually attended his son of blood cousin for all good lived from the state. Sheng's father, by contrast, was an academic who was branded a spy when the Communists came to power in 1949. To "pardon" him, he was forced into nearly 20 years of manual labour. Though just children, Sheng and her sister were branded subversives and beaten up by their fellow students. "I grew up know-

ing there was something very wrong with Chinese society," said Sheng.

Even so, her opinion seemed to melt away in the spring of 1989. The whole city, she recalled, appeared to be caught up in the spirit of action. Demonstration turned to the music of rock bands and students lived in the sunbath. Nothing seemed impossible. Strangers would suddenly engage in political debate and even a gang of famous thieves in Sheng's neighbourhood put up posters saying they were going on "strike," and went off to join the festivities in the square. "It was," said Sheng, "something quite amazing."

But the Communist leadership, dominated by an increasingly angry Deng Xiaoping, had mobilized the army in Beijing's suburbs. On June 3, as Sheng was eating dinner with her family, troops began marching by her home near the square. "I ran in the window and saw the army was in the city," she recalled. "I started to cry." She rushed into the street where the found hundreds of people fighting to stop the soldiers' advance. "We pulled up stones and threw them at the tanks," said Sheng,

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1. *Introduction*

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World China

"but what can you do? You can't block it."
She returned home at 3 a.m. on June 4, but a few hours later she went back onto the street and for the first time realized the full extent of the violence. "On my way to the square I saw people carrying bodies," said Sheng. "I could see in their eyes that they were very, very angry."

Sheng's husband, who worked in a store near the square, watched more than 20 people die, including one man who stood on the front bumper of a troop truck and was gunned down. Others played a sometimes deadly game of chicken with the troops. "We would yell 'Not facing,'" said Sheng, "and then they would fire at us."

The discordant images, Zhang Jin, had also come down to the square. "She was guarding in front of our store when we heard gunfire," said Deng. "She fell and we opened the door and carried her to the backyard." Jin was still breathing but would soon die. "She had a friend with her," recalled Deng. "We were upset and grabbed a knife and wanted to go out and fight with the soldiers." Angry, Deng remained in the frame of the store where she, alone and blood from Jin's head was still stuck to the door. "I stood there," he said, "and told the people going by what had happened here."

The number of people killed in the streets near the square and beyond is still uncounted, some activists suggest 1,000, while foreign diplomats have put it at around 3,000. Close to 3,000 were also arrested. The most prominent student leaders, including female firebrand Chen Ling and cerebral feminist Wang Dan, who addressed a rally in Toronto last week, have been released and are living abroad, mostly in the United States.

Amnesty International, however, says as many as 2,000 dissidents remain in prison, including hundreds—241 are documented—from Tiananmen Square, who came to Canada in 1990 on a student visa, says she is deeply worried about them, and produces four large sheets of paper the tops were stolen from a Beijing prison. Down the sides are printed the names of the jailed dissidents, and their numbered exma-

"Life for setting a fire," said Sheng, pointing to one of the carers. "Fifteen years for robbery," the seal of another. There are also reports that disidents were executed in the period after the crackdown.

China has never allowed public protests to take place on the June 4 anniversary. This year, the square remains blocked off, ostensibly to prepare for the 50th anniversary celebration of the founding of the People's Republic on Oct. 1, 1949. The crackdown on dissidents has never stopped. The



A. punctator black scale is now *Aspidiotus crataegi*

Redding, China Democracy Party was hit hard earlier this year when three top leaders got lengthy jail sentences. Several Tiananmen veterans were picked up in May.

But despite lingering memories of the 1989 carnage, more Chinese now seem much more focused on the booming economy than on politics. As a businessman named Chen put it to *Albion* as he passed Tiananmen Square last week: "The students today are only interested in saving money and getting ahead." Or joining the occasional authorized protest. In reply Mao's government carefully orchestrated demonstrations by students inspired by the US bombing of China's embassy in Belgrade. Many symbols are the rally as an opportunity to take strain out of the leaders' "Thousand Years" slogan.

Ren Wandaog, one of the few major dissidents who is still free in China, told *Marble* it could take generations before democracy comes to China. "But everything," he said, "starts from a small basis and by small groups of people." Canada's Sheng is far more pessimistic. "The Chinese government is very much," she said, "all over

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Spy mystery

How damaging was China's alleged nuclear espionage?

By Andrew Phillips
in Washington

The trail of events that led U.S. investigators to uncover what they now describe as a vast Chinese conspiracy to steal vital American nuclear secrets started in the winter of 1995. A Chinese spy, known in the espionage trade as a "walk-in," approached the Central Intelligence Agency and turned over a stack of secret documents. Among them was an official Chinese government paper containing design information on the most advanced nuclear warhead in the U.S. arsenal, known by the code name W-88. The revelation seemed inescapable: China had in hands one of the most coveted American military technologies. Alarm bells started ringing in Washington—eventually resulting in last week's scathing congressional report accusing Beijing of waging a 20-year campaign to acquire U.S. secrets.

Turbid as much of the report is, it's not clear that it fits together—including the story about the Chinese walk-in. A year after he turned over his information, the CIA concluded he had been directed by the Chinese government all along. Why, then, did Beijing blow the whistle on itself? Was it, U.S. observers wondered, an elaborate ploy to intimidate the Americans by proving how much information China had? Washington could only speculate—and ponder how seriously to take the report from a committee headed by Republican Congressman Christopher Cox.

On the face of it, Cox's conclusions could hardly be more serious. In almost 500 pages, the so-called red source of the report charges that since the late 1970s, China has stolen designs, secrets for all seven nuclear warheads now deployed on U.S. missiles. Beijing also allegedly obtained technology for improving missile guidance systems, tracking satel-

lites, and developing advanced electromagnetic weapons. Over the same period, investigators concluded, China set up some 3,000 front companies in the United States to acquire sensitive military and strategic technology. The Chinese penetrated U.S. weapons laboratories, and got classified know-how from American companies that used Chinese recruits to search satellite

findings may have been exaggerated to ensure that U.S. missile technology "got the message" and bolstered accuracy.

Independent experts also noted that the committee presented no hard evidence that the Chinese actually stole nuclear blueprints from the labs, or that they have successfully deployed any new weapons using stolen technology. Nor did it explain why the chief figure in the spy ring, a Chinese-American scientist named Wen Ho Lee, remains at liberty near the U.S. energy department's nuclear lab at Los Alamos, N.M. Lee was fired from his job there in March for allegedly downloading classified nuclear weapons data onto his unsecured personal hard drive. But investigators have



Soldiers march past a missile on display in Beijing, a warning U.S. reports

"China's appetite for information and technology," the report concludes, "appears to be insatiable."

Domestic strife, and it immediately led to accusations that the Chinese administration was slow to respond to warnings about Chinese espionage, and cynically aimed export controls on sensitive technology to promote trade after the end of the Cold War. Beneath the heated rhetoric, however, it was less clear exactly what damage has been done. The Cox committee repeatedly said that China "may" or "could" have adopted pilfered technology to military ends, and accused that its conditions possess a "worst-case scenario." Even as they made the report public, Democrats on the Cox committee admitted that no

repeatedly found no evidence that he passed the information to anyone.

At the same time, nothing uncovered by the Cox committee suggests that China has acquired information that would change the nuclear balance—as happened when the Soviet Union exploded its first bomb in 1949. The United States still has 6,000 warheads compared with Beijing's scanty two dozen, and there is no evidence that China intends to significantly change that equation. The longer-term danger is that China could emerge only in the next century as a hostile power better equipped to intimidate its Asian neighbors. A new cold war between Washington and Beijing would only make that more likely. ■

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Sophie's breast

The French tabloid *Le Sun* caused Buckingham Palace to publish a capsule photo of Sophie Rhys-Jones, 34, who is to marry Prince Edward, 35, on June 19. The newspaper paid about \$400,000 to a former friend of Rhys-Jones for the photo, which shows a nude but also smiling and playfully pulling up her bikini top and exposing her breast during a broadcasting trip to Spain in 1998. The *Sun*'s editor later apologized to the palace and Rhys-Jones and calls for stricter privacy laws.

A cop pleads guilty

New York City police officer Brian Valpey, 37, changed his plea to guilty to a grosser and lighter one, allowing his boss to command a stick under the nose of a hooded Muslim immigrant in August, 1997. Valpey faces possible life imprisonment. The case against four other white officers is continuing.

Hillary and New York

As speculation swirled on whether Hillary Clinton will run for the U.S. Senate from New York next year, she confirmed that she and husband Bill plan to live in the New York City area when his presidency ends early in 2001. An aide to Hillary denied claims by Robert Gipe, a Democratic party chairman in Seneca Island, that she had made up her mind to run.

Sonia Gandhi returns

Assuming the leadership of India's opposition Congress party for a second time, Indira Devi Sonia Gandhi condemned political rivals who had questioned her fitness for the job because of her foreign birth. Gandhi, widow of former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi, resigned on May 17 but agreed to come back after the party gained her for a September election, calling her an "unquestioned leader." She left open whether she would serve a second term if the party won.

Cuban minister ousted

Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina, long considered a possible successor to President Fidel Castro, was replaced by Carlos Mesa Lago. Diplomats and Robaina, a moderate appointed in 1993, may be paying the price for the negative foreign relations Cuba's ministers against internal opposition since the past year, particularly that of the so-called Group of Four dissidents.

World Notes

Linking up in space

Canadian astronaut Julie Payette began her 16-day assignment aboard the shuttle *Discovery* as it made the first orbital rendezvous with the new international space station. The servicemember crew was the second to visit the fledgling station but the first to dock with it. The *Discovery* carried equipment and supplies to help bring the orbital platform into full operation. One of the suite tasks facing Payette, a 35-year-old Montserrat, and Russian crew member Yelena Serenina was to repair faulty batteries on the station's Russian-made Zarya module.



A dangerous war in Kashmir

India and Pakistan, both with nuclear weapons in their arsenals, were locked in a dangerous struggle over a rugged Himalayan province in the disputed Kashmir region that divides the two nations. India and Pakistan have gone to war twice over Kashmir since they won independence from Britain in 1947. Since 1990, tensions have escalated due to a Muslim revolt in Jammu and Kashmir, the two-thirds of the region ruled by India. In the past, the two countries have engaged in long-distance artillery

duels, but India is now using its air force in an attempt to dislodge hundreds of Muslim rebels, including, it says, Afghan and other mercenaries. Pakistan said it had shot down two Indian fighter jets, although India said one went down with engine trouble. The rebels also claimed to have downed an Indian helicopter.

India vowed to continue fighting until the rebels retreat, but seemed anxious to find a peaceful solution. Some Western analysts feared the battle could escalate into a larger war and even raised the spectre of a nuclear exchange between the two rivals. But India called for calm, saying it was standing by Pakistan's Lahore Declaration that pledged a peaceful end to the dispute.

Dolly's age: it's in the genes

Dolly, the sheep cloned in 1996, may be older than she looks. Now 5, Dolly became the first large animal to be cloned from genetic material sourced from an adult cell. But according to findings published in the journal *Nature*, Dolly who came from a six-year-old sheep, is showing signs of aging that are not totally associated with older animals. Jerry Shup, a biologist at the University of Texas in Dallas, said if Dolly is really older than her age, it may indicate that science cannot make perfect genetic copies of an adult without the original genetic blueprint wearing out.

A Run for the Money

With a new deal, the magazine debate shifts from culture to how to keep ad dollars in Canada

By John Gieskes

During long months of tortuous negotiations, the clash of viewpoints was headily clear. The *Americans* said the magazine business was just that—business. The *Canadians* clung to the position that it was something more—culture. So while Washington insisted normal trade rules must apply, Ottawa countered that special considerations were essential. But in the deal finally struck last week, those old statements of principle were raised up beyond recognition. The United States seemed to have bowed—or at least nodded early—to the notion that trade involving culture needs its own rule book. As for Canada, the federal government will never again be able to credibly claim that its cultural policies are insulated from the sort of compromises that emerge when over-caffeinated trade negotiators engage in prolonged, high-stakes haggling.

Both sides treated the deal with the customary claim that it was a win-win outcome. But the major agreement on May 26 is a dispute stretching back to 1995 can just as easily be regarded as lose-lose. After all, the Americans accepted limits on their access to Canada's magazine advertising marketplace, a potentially troublesome precedent for the next time Washington tries to pry a foreign market open to U.S. entertainment exports. In Canada, though, the publishers are more uncomfortable. Canadian magazine publishers find themselves stripped of much of the cultural protection armor that Ottawa had

promised—until very near the end—never to give up. Women's magazines, in particular, were left vulnerable to an onslaught of thick, glossy U.S. rivals vying for Canadian advertising. "It's not about culture any more," said Brian Segal, president and chief executive of Montreal's Harcourt Publishing Ltd., Canada's biggest publisher of magazines, including *Maclean's* and *Closest*. "This deal says we're now in an environment based on pure business principles."

Politicians tried hard to ease the situation in less stark terms. "There is nothing inconsistent about a vigorous and open trade policy and an equally strong defence of one's own culture," insisted Trade Minister Sergio Marchi. Maybe not. But judging from the awkwardly handled policies that ultimately put the conflict to rest, reconciling cultural and trade considerations was no easy feat. The deal opens up at least three avenues for U.S. publishers to make incursions into the Canadian magazine sector. In sports, millions in new fiction subsidies are promised for the Canadian publisher—a solution the industry has always said it did not want, and one the main counter to the tide away from government handouts. The amount to be made available and how it might be divided remains for firms to decide. "We've barely begun to talk about the money," admitted one weary senior federal official.

Provisionally which magazines will end up needing an upsurge



Canadian *Business* on the press: the magazine industry is upset by a pact that opens the door to larger U.S. publications

of assistance will depend on how U.S. publishers decide to exploit their new access to the Canadian marketplace. The most likely strategy will be to keep shipping the same magazines already widely sold in Canada, but to start scooping up Canadian advertising profits, too. American magazines will be allowed, after a three-year phase-in period, to sell up to 18 per cent of their ad space to Canadian advertisers—without being required to spend a cent on Canadian articles or photographs. For these details, Ottawa banned that sort of publication, known as a light ride, and allowing them now is a major concession. Critics said the 18-per-cent limit would preserve advertising for homegrown magazines. But Canadian publishers worried the impact could be severe. They feared, for instance, that if the 13 most popular U.S. women's magazines sold the allowed 18 per cent of their ad pages to Canadian clients, they would gain the equivalent of 70 per cent of all the ads now run in Canada's seven biggest women's magazines.

A more ambitious strategy for U.S. publishers would be to set up new versions of their magazines in Canada. New York City-based Hearst Corp. suggested it might launch northern editions of magazines such as *Country* and *Good Housekeeping*. But under the new rules, more than half of the editorial

content in these issues would have to be produced by Canadians, or be specially commissioned for this market. Industry insiders doubted U.S. publishers would be inspired to assume such high editorial costs. "I predict there will be very few magazines that will establish here by putting in an investment proposal and committing to 50-per-cent Canadian content," said Ron Atkey, a Toronto lawyer who represents publishing and entertainment giant Time Warner Inc. in Canada.

A third option for U.S. publishers is to find Canadian partners. And all indications are that at least some of the Canadians are eager to talk. Up to now, foreign companies have been limited to owning 25 per cent of Canadian magazine publications. The new guidelines will permit them to buy as much as 49 per cent.

No secret had the magazine coalition been announced than Canadian publishers began meeting about linking up with the U.S. powerhouses. The opportunities came from U.S. investors buying bigger shares of Canadian publishers, to joint ventures in which the Canadian player would hold the majority stake and the U.S. partner would bring well-known magazine titles. The advent of such arrangements need not spell the end of familiar Canadian publications.

Segal said. "If one looks to potential for joint ventures and other opportunities, that doesn't mean *Maclean's* and *Chandler* and *Flare* and all of our magazines won't be operating," he said. "It's not substitution. It's a question of where are these opportunities for growth?"

Talk of opportunities could not dispel the deep gloom that fell over the Canadian magazine sector. Among the daunting changes, the industry faces losing a large part of a key tax advantage designed to help sell ad space. Advertisers can deduct the full cost of placing ads in Canadian magazines. Under the new regime, they will also be able to deduct half those costs in any foreign periodicals that sell advertising under the 16-per-cent threshold. The new 50-per-cent deduction would apply to any new foreign-owned publications launched in Canada that comply with the majority Canadian content rule. And if any foreign-owned magazine ever manages to provide at least 80-per-cent Canadian content, the full deduction would be allowed. Privately, federal officials admitted the reason of the tax advantage will almost certainly be fatal for the magazines. "We're not going to present this every-Canadian magazine new being published in go-



McKenney's balance was struck in a deal that could have been much worse.

substantive law, Bill C-55, was more cleverly designed to withstand the technicalities of a trade challenge, but that hardly mattered. Washington rejected the notion of another round at the WTO. And the latest threat of a costly trade war replaced muted debate on the merits of trade law.

Canada's other island industries watched nervously as the magazine saga moved towards its concluding conclusion. "We've always felt that Canadian ownership is critical to protecting Canadian content," said Roy MacKinnon, policy director of the Association of Canadian Publishers, the book industry's main lobby group. "That's been a central risk in book policy and it was in magazine policy—until now." While Copps reassured other cultural industries they need not worry about being dragged into the magazine dispute, when showed, MacKinnon calls the move to let foreign magazine publishers set up shop in Canada, even with Canadian content requirements, a "smouldering disaster."

Yet he finds a silver lining in a little-known detail of the new federal policy. The authority to approve or reject all future changes in foreign ownership of Canadian cultural enterprises is being transferred from Industry Canada's avowed to review branch to the Canadian Heritage department—a key Canadian post for Copps. MacKinnon is confident Heritage will prove tougher than Industry in demanding cultural benefits when Canadian subsidiaries of global entertainment conglomerates change hands. U.S. media empire News Heritage in Ontario must baton of cultural protections. Bill McKenney, a veteran Washington-based trade consultant who was the second-ranking U.S. negotiator of the 1984 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, said the move is "the big dog" in the resolution of the magazine dispute. Adversity makes it a "power grab" with "brave implications."

For Canada's magazine publishers, however, anything Copps's department can achieve from the collapse of its magazine policy is no solace. A giant Michael Rea, chairman of the Canadian Magazine Publishers Association, said it is impossible to predict which U.S. magazine will move first—only that they are bound to move. "There is very little money on the table," Rea said, "so I imagine they will take it." And in this case, any money for the Americans means harder days ahead for their Canadian rivals. ■

A lost cause

Copps calls it bargaining, others see a messy retreat



Copps with Charest in Parliament building leads with confidence and colleagues.

By Bruce Wallace

It is not as Jean Charest's nature to spend much time worrying about the scribbles of his cabinet members. So when he woke up in Calgary one morning last week and, after listening by phone to his daily briefing on Kosovo, asked aides in his Ottawa office, "Have I slept today?" it was a measure of the soft spot he seems for Heritage Minister Sheila Copps. The day before, Copps had prefaced one of the most unpleasant tasks in politics: publicly explaining why a dear colleague from a position of principle was, in fact, making less than a wise and winning compromise. The Prime Minister was wondering how she was holding up.

The Copps prospector came over Bill C-55, legislation she introduced to protect Canadian magazines from American incursions into the Canadian advertising market. It was a bill she had loudly and aggressively defended as essential to the Canadian industry's survival. She insisted that Washington's threat of mas-

sive retaliation were nothing but bullying—diplomatic snark talk to be ignored. The Liberals, as it turned out, could not ignore it. And Copps's high wire act left even friends "scratching our heads as to why she let herself get so far out on a limb without any way back," as one put it. The result was the messy retreat that was widely seen as a personal defeat.

Not that the scrappy Hamilton MP would accept that interpretation. Her headline stance had been nothing more than positioning. "I'm Negotiating 101," Copps told *Maclean's*. "I'm from Stouffville and northwestern know how to negotiate." Those critics who said she was happily taking Canada into a trade war with the United States were "crazy," she said. "I had no choice in a trade war, I wanted a deal. I've been elected in every election since 1984 and it was not by being a political idiot."

Yet it is hard to drink of a minister less likely to fly with Charest's cautious governing style than Copps. The Prime Minister likes his policies without bumps. Copps seems to steer for three

"I'm not saying the jacks fight," says friend and former policy adviser Andrew McDermott. "But when one lands in her lap, her attitude is damn the torpedoes."

Employing that confrontational style through a series of battles has left Copps ever more isolated among her Liberal colleagues (cabinet ministers may have originally blessed Bill C-55 but they scrubbed to distance themselves from its radioactive fallout). The magazine fight rattled her. Her due to the Americans brought her into head-banging conflict with one of Charest's confidants, his nephew, Raymond Charest, who is Canada's ambassador to Washington and longtime adviser Edna Grieshaber. Both men were appalled at the thought of a trade war's damage and fought her all the way. Washington sits down the table by proposed retaliation as the steel industry, the steel industry of Copps's Hamilton base. "Balance me, Sheila will fly the process," said her spokesman Jean-Louis LeBlond.

The Copps played ahead she speared her belief in the cause—and a cartoonist she had the Prime Minister's backing. "When the PM sits in cabinet, I've heard the argument and I'm with you," it is human nature to think you are on the right track," said a Copps adviser. But in the end, Charest also recognized the need to deal. With trade officials on both sides locked in a death grip, the Prime Minister took the issue to a higher level. In Washington this April for the NATO summit, Charest faced the magazine dispute and the spectre of a trade war with U.S. President Bill Clinton. Charest told Charest he had never heard of the problem. It wasn't on the American political radar.

With negotiation still spinning at each other in May, Charest again went around them by calling Clinton (Charest's reports she was inclined from the final path for a deal, Copps reportedly insisted). "It was my suggestion to call the President." With everyone's attention to hand, a deal was finally struck. "If I hadn't been so angry, we would not have gotten what we did," Copps says. "And I would not be for a moment," she adds, "have done it differently." ■

Other cultural industries watched nervously as the magazine saga unfolded

ing to be there five years from now," said one senior telecoms, who spoke on the condition he not be identified.

Maclean told *Maclean's* he believes the outcome for Canadian magazines could have been much worse. Had negotiations broken down entirely—so they threatened to do more than once—the U.S. would no longer be able to sue various against Canada steel, metals or plastics. "Then the business community would have hoped a lot of pressure on the government and its backbones," he said. "We may have had to go back to the negotiating table in the middle of a trade war, and who knows what kind of an arrangement we would have been able to work."

But could the result have been more favourable? Ottawa's cultural mission—itsk with enthusiastic support from the magazine industry—may have come in 1995. That was when the Liberal government imposed an 80-per-cent cap on the oil revenues of oil firms, a potent levy designed to reduce the Canadian edition of *Time* *Woman's* *Style* *Newsweek*, which was launched in 1993. Many trade experts doubted from the outset that the cap would withstand a U.S. trade challenge, so it was no big surprise when it was ruled illegal by a World Trade Organization panel in 1997. When Ottawa responded in 1998 with a new measure—a ban on advertising sales in split runs—the Americans predictably cried foul. Canada was refusing to comply with the spirit of the WTO decision. This

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Deirdre McMurdy

Those bickering brokers

Here we go again. First, party warring went on as Canada fails to achieve an up-dated international free-trade agreement. Now, while American markets improve their competitiveness, a long-standing reform of domestic stock markets is bogged down by the same turf wars. It's worth a maddening, it would be tragic—or comic.

Last week, Toronto's largest trades became the latest special-interest group to call reform of domestic securities exchanges. They are asking the Competition Bureau to review a plan that would displace them by moving Montreal's headquarters for futures and options trading in Canada. And many brokers and politicians in Quebec have become implacable bed-fellows in back again against Montreal's transformation into a derivatives exchange. They claim Quebec's time will suffer from neglect and mismanagement if they are forced to let others for sale in Toronto and Winnipeg Canada, Minnesota, Alberta and British Columbia are debating over which province will be home to the proposed unregulated small cap stock exchange. At the end of April, the recommendation was to locate the exchange headquarters in Calgary with trading operations in Vancouver. Such compromise is so disastrously Canadian—and so harmful to the out-throat world of capital markets. Increasingly, Canada has to compete for corporate listings with other exchanges, especially in the United States. Last week, while renegeing introduced here, the New York Stock Exchange and the Nasdaq stock market both pointed ahead, advancing respective plans to extend trading hours into the evening. The NYSE also may offer trading in Nasdaq-listed stocks through an electronic communications network. Both exchanges are battling to reclaim volume it showed off by Internet trading. They are also responding to recent demand for participation in round-the-clock global markets.

While there has been intense scrutiny of repeat Internet companies' soaring market

multiples, there has been little attention to the profound impact the Web is having on the securities industry itself. The rules of brokers, traders and research analysts are under siege. To survive, they—and the exchanges in which they conduct business—must reinvent themselves quickly.

Neither small nor institutional investors rely as they once did upon brokers' analysis. Last month, when National Bank came close to buying out First Marchion Inc.—one of the largest non-broker-owned brokers left on Bay Street—there was barely a murmur of regret. The Internet has made financial information just another commodity. Large-scale money managers have been moving away from paying for equity research for years. Now, they direct business—and commissions—to dealers who can swiftly and efficiently handle large block trades, not to those who provide yet another version of BCG's business case.

The market grip of investment dealers is also diminishing because corporations use the Internet to avoid agencies directly instead of hiring brokers to manage a traditional "road show" to sell a new issue of shares, companies increasingly go "off road"; they use the Net for interactive presentations, targeting money managers and the widest individual investor.

One of the last preserves of lobby exclusivity is also ending—the quarterly analyst conference calls with senior company management when earnings are released. The U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission favors open these opportunities for "voluntary disclosure," and technology exists to offer real-time audio broadcasts over the Net to all interested parties.

Over time, technology will continue to improve transparency and democracy in capital markets, putting off obstacles on the way even faster. This will cause a whole new set of challenges—and opportunities—for Canada's stock exchange. That is if they are not too busy bickering to respond.

A royal mess

Princesses/Princes/Corps want to use the personal assets of Margaret Wilson, former CEO of Royal Bank, to sue. Among the assets is Wilson's \$7.5-million home in Montreal, Quebec. The receiver claims Wilson and other executives owe \$6 million, alleging the executives paid off \$1.2 million in personal loans by selling worthless Royal Bank shares to a subsidiary. Wilson says Princesses/Princes/Corps knew of the sale in advance.

High on the tube

Bombardier Transportation of Montreal passed three other firms to form the first consortium with plans to bid on the \$3.5 billion upgrade of London's subway, known as the tube. Jointing partners are British Jodels, Mitsubishi & Co., PLC, U.S. engineering giant Bechtel, and the French electronics firm Alcatel Alsthom. The winning consortium will be selected in 2000.

Cashing in at Manulife

Manulife's Life Insurance Co. says 675,000 of its policyholders will receive an average of \$15,800 when it transforms itself into a public company this year. Manulife will double its policyholders will receive cash on shares worth a total of \$3 billion in \$12 billion when it demutualizes, a process in which a mutual insurance company is converted into a public company with shareholders.

Traders in the night

The National Association of Securities Dealers, which governs the Nasdaq Stock Market, opened scheduled trading hours, starting in the fall. With the change, a second session will begin at 5:30 p.m. current session ends and at 9 p.m. 10 p.m. Trading will initially be limited to Nasdaq's 100 largest non-financial firms, including Microsoft Corp. and MCI WorldCom Inc. The New York Stock Exchange may also extend its hours.

Maclean Hunter renamed

Maclean Hunter Publishing Ltd., publisher of Maclean's, is changing its name this summer to Rogers Media Inc. Publishing. Maclean Hunter and the renaming reflects its integration with parent company Rogers Media, as well as the latter's expanded presence in the communications field. Rogers Media now encompasses publishing, radio, television and new media.

Business Notes

A skyscraper on the block



The Toronto tower for sale with owner

The Royal Bank of Canada, looking to cut costs and boost profits, plans to sell 35 of its office buildings across the country, including the gold-coloured towers of its Toronto headquarters. The real estate portfolio is worth about \$1 billion and the sale will not affect bank branches, only the Royal's multi-tenant buildings—most of which are in Ontario. Once the properties are sold, the Royal plans to lease space from the new owners. The announcement came a week after the Royal reported a disappointing second-quarter profit of \$432 million—eight per cent lower than last year. "The significant value currently tied up in our real estate buildings can be put to more efficient use and further enhance shareholder value," said Peter Carro, the bank's chief financial officer. Three other banks, meanwhile, re-

ported their second-quarter results. The Bank of Nova Scotia had the biggest gain, increasing profits by 11 per cent, with net earnings of \$384 million. The smallest of Canada's Big Six banks, the National Bank of Canada, saw earnings rise seven per cent to \$102 million. The Bank of Montreal, however, had a disappointing quarter, with earnings of \$365 million, down 3.4 per cent.

Livent's final curtain?

New York City-based concert and event promoter STX Entertainment Inc. merged last week at the five-month merger companies bidding for stock of beleaguered Livent Inc. of Toronto. STX is offering between \$100 million and \$110 million (U.S.) for three divisions in Toronto, New York and Chicago, plus the rights to the shows *Phantom of the Opera*, *Agnes of God* and *Fear*. The deal also would appear to wipe out Hollywood superagent Michael Ovitz's \$20 million (U.S.) equity stake in Livent.

Financial outlook

Summer's approach is invariably mean one thing: higher prices in the gas pumps. This year, though, the seasonal

hikes are also being fuelled by the steadily rising cost of crude oil. In March, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries agreed to curtail crude production to prop up the falling price of a barrel of oil. As the crude's raw takes hold, the cost of gasoline has doubled in some places. When averaged among 10 Canadian cities, the price has \$6.1 cents a litre in April, up 6.4 per cent over last year. Whether prices will continue to climb, says Michael Evans, president of M/E Evans & Associates in Calgary, will depend on whether OPEC sticks to its quota. "It's not an even odds," he says.





Au revoir but not goodbye

I have labored in this editorial slayer for more than 40 years. During that interval, nearly every issue of *Maclean's* has carried my columns, written either as the magazine's business editor, national affairs editor, Ottawa editor, for 11 years as editor-in-chief, and for the past 17 years as a columnist on this page.

At my request, I am now trading these weekly appearances for a monthly slot. It has been a hell of a ride, those estimated two million words I strung together, promulgating (or laid) some national view of Canadian politics and business.

Filled with a sense of curiously named curiosity, I went tapping my way along the winding corridors of power, like a blind man, trying to make sense of the noise and the darkness. Instead of telling readers what was happening, I attempted to explain why it was either significant, or a farce, or both—and what was likely to happen next. That approach, incidentally, accounts the essential difference between newspaper and magazine journalists.

Trying to encourage the pace of change and reform in this country has usually meant: insisting wherever evidence of hopefulness happened to hold authority in the political back rooms and corporate boardrooms. Whenever possible, I have reported what I've seen and heard firsthand, instead of repeating what I might have read or overheard from secondary sources. I've always believed that the medium is as important as the message. Good writing acquires clear thinking, but feelings are the most essential elements in capturing any incident or personality in prose. Only feelings can transform words into a message.

Even magazine columns like this one, which has been the fulcrum of my professional life, must end. Mostly written overnight for looming deadlines, I've worried over every word and paragraph. My worst prediction? That Jean Chrétien would never be PM. Maybe what I meant was that he would never sit like a prime minister. Still, it's been a blur.

It seems a particularly appropriate moment to go off the weekly roadshow. Even *Maclean's* has its limits. I have always believed that Canadian governments, whatever their stripe, would always defend Canadian interest. As of last week, that turns out to be hard. By buckling to American pressure on the magazine issue, Chrétien has set a precedent of such magnitude that it will be pivotal in the downward spiral of Canadian history.

Shawna's comment has never been easy. But until they recognized in receiving Bill C-55, the Americans at least recognized there was a sovereign country perched in their attic. But

now that Ottawa has given in to the Time Warner lobbying pushing the U.S. state department to defund Canada's magazine legislation,

there is no longer any doubt about our status. We become just another cheap state of the American empire: a Panama with polar bears. This doesn't mean that I equate Canada's future with the future of magazines. (Actually I do, but that's not the point.) I'm trying to make a point of characterizing a trade war—which could be challenged under both the North American Free Trade Agreement and the World Trade Organization—was enough for the Americans to get their way. The Liberals will not stand up to future demands—such as a Yankee grab of our water or territory.

Our new national inclination is the scardy-cat of the industrialized world: pass as in the same category as the wife in the one-sided marriage, where husband used to enter: "If you do exactly what I want, honey, we'll have a really good time." It's that serious.

Since I left the editorship of *Maclean's* in 1983, I have happily settled on Canada's West Coast, currently at Hopkins Landing, a dot on the unpopulated Sunshine Coast, just west of Vancouver. Savouring the smells, the sights and sounds of the faring sides on these Pacific shores creates an alluring fourth dimension of shared silence, in which I happily luxuriate with my wonderful wife, Aliy. We intend to spend more time abroad every day. Thus, marvelling at the wilderness here, cliffs, prancing killer whales, and the elegance of the blue heron. Call it coasting.

I have long subscribed to the wisdom of Spanish philosopher George Santayana's evocative synthesis of life: "The world is not respectable, it is moral, sometimes, confused, deluded forever; but it also thrives with beauty, with love, with glimmers of courage and laughter; and in these, the spirit blooms bravely and struggles to the light among the thorns."

Since my family and I landed here, escaping the Nazi terror of wartime Europe in 1940, the credo that has animated my own life is that Canada happens to be the most fortunate country on Earth. Most Canadians don't subscribe to that notion, preferring to belyard and curse their destiny. That wrong. To be a citizen of this country—such all its faults and untapped potential—represents an obligation not to risk to many freedoms and privileges for granted.

If I have been too idealistic in these columns, it is because I have always believed that although it may be absurd to advocate innovation and reform, it's far more absurd not even to try.

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Robert captured the Nova Scotia

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People Edited by Tracy Davis

Man of steely determination

Actor Christopher Reeve is the reigning champion for spinal cord injury research



Reeve was cast as Superman in 1978, helping to raise money

Once a hero, always a hero. Actor Christopher Reeve was a strong, robust guy who smiled, slept with the piano and flew his own plane. In four *Superman* movies between 1978 and 1997, he was the Man of Steel, travelling faster than a speeding bullet, lifting lighter than the cotton building. But in May 1995, Reeve was reared from a horse during a riding competition. He broke his neck, which left him a quadriplegic and dependent on a ventilator to breathe. Since then, the wheelchair-bound actor—who lives in Bedford, N.Y., with his wife, Dana, and their three children—has become a prominent activist for spinal cord research, and a champion to those who are paralyzed. He has also written his autobiography, *Still Me*, and starred in a TV remake of the *Alfred*

Hitchcock thriller *Four Weddings*. Last week, he was the guest of honor at the opening of the annual Niagara Film Festival in Niagara Falls, Ont., where there this year was superheroes. "Every generation has had a different role model," says Reeve of his famous characters, "but this is a personality that has endured for 50 years."

The festival opened with a screening of *Superman* before a rapt crowd of 500 fans, who showed their appreciation of the guest of honour with a standing ovation. His appearance at the festival was Reeve's second public event in southern Ontario during the past month. On May 15 at Hamilton's Copps Coliseum, he addressed a crowd of 4,000, including 400 people in wheelchairs, at a fund-raiser for spinal cord research. Reeve has used his position as a celebrity to raise money from both government and private sources. And he has had a dramatic impact: "He has completely changed the landscape for spinal cord injury visibility and research," says Michael R. Strider, president of the Washington-based Christopher Reeve Paralysis Foundation.

Reeve serves as the keynote speaker at about four fund-raising events a month, some of which net as much as \$1.1 million. He has appeared at congressional hearings to plead for more funding for the National Institutes of Health, and in 1996 convinced President Bill Clinton to direct \$10 million (U.S.) toward spinal cord research. Reeve has proved equally effective with private donors: Lois Pope, whose late husband, Genesee Pope, founded the National Empowerment Network, responded to his appeal by contributing a lump sum of \$10 million (U.S.) to the Mission Project to Cure Paralysis, as well as \$100,000 (U.S.) annually. "Now that I'm in the club," says Reeve, referring to his paralysis, "my job is to increase awareness and funding for research."

The actor's crusade has also led to something equally important for thousands of people with spinal cord injuries: the hope that they will one day walk again. Reeve believes scientific advances are occurring so quickly that a cure is inevitable. "Curing paralysis—which will happen, it's just a question of time—will be one of the greatest achievements in the history of science," he says. "It will even dwarf the landing on the moon." In the meantime, Reeve has learned to maintain a mental balance between acceptance and denial while he awaits the day when research produces a miracle.

D'Arcy Smith with Phil Nease at Niagara Falls



The electronic nursery

An expanding crop of programs shows gardeners exactly what to do

By Andrew Clark

Ken Beattie is a gent and a compulsive one at that. The 47-year-old gardener can't keep himself from offering advice. "Do you have tomatoes?" he asks long distance from his home in Regina. "Plant basil with them. For some reason they grow beautifully together. Also, mix a few tablespoons of spoonfuls with a bit of water and drench the tomato plants with it. This, it stand back and watch them grow." It's this kind of practical wisdom that draws almost 30,000 viewers to Beattie's weekly hour-long television show, *Get Growing*, which airs Sunday mornings on the WTN cable channel. "I don't like the word 'expert,'" says Beattie, who served as the manager of parks for Regina. "I want to be that coach or mentor."

He is not alone. Garden television shows are flourishing. There are nearly two dozen garden series on Canadian television and one cable channel, *Home and Garden TV* (HGTV), which, as its name suggests, devotes about half its programming to outdoor beautification. The shows explore everything from what vegetables to plant (*Victory Gardens*) to how to design your patio (*Garden Architecture*). They are comparatively inexpensive to produce and they are on the brink of going mainstream, says Amanda Enright, who produces two gardening shows, *Canadian Gardening* and *Garden Architecture*, and has three more in development. "It's only a matter of time before someone thinks, 'We put health shots in juice bars. I wonder what would happen if we put gardening in juice time.'"

The TV gardening boom is riding an overall surge in the popularity of the horticultural arts. According to Statistics Canada, gardening is Canada's fastest-growing form of recreation. Canadians spent \$3.3 billion on their gardens alone

in 1995—and as much as \$12 billion when cut flowers, house plants, and lawn-mowers are included, according to Landscape Ontario, a trade association of 1,500 member companies. Gardening blossomed in the early 1990s, when the leading edge of the baby boomers got serious about gardening. Home is where their hearts lie and their gardens grow. As the boomers get older, many put off their houses and thus left more money to spend on their gardens," says Dorey Di Giovanni, executive director of Landscape Ontario. "Gardening is a spiritual, contemplative

fact that some power mowers and dads weren't missed themselves. As long as the lawn was mowed, they were happy. But now that boomers are discovering gardening's charms, the nomadic nature of life today is leading many to mourn the absence of family rooting. TV gardeners satisfy this need. "If you don't have more or *Amateur Hour* to help you, they can be your guide," says Tom Hopkins, senior vice-president of editorial for Canadian Gardening magazine.

The advice comes in two flavors—the instructional and the educational



Daniels as Mrs. Greenhouse, the disgraced plant owner's "separation anxiety"

exercise. Boomers are thinking about the time lost of their lives.

Enter the TV garden guru, who are more than happy to show building backbones the way. In this respect, they are filling a void caused by the gardening generation gap. Traditionally, gardening was a passion handed down through the family. Beattie, for one, recalls upland, happy hours as a five-year-old helping his parents tend their patch. Many of today's gardeners, however, never had such a mentor. In their youth, they viewed gardening as a hold-over from their grandparents' generation. That attitude combined with the

Gardening insider refers to these camps as the chocolate and fiber approach. Inexpensive shows (the chocolate) dangle viewers with succulent images of the perfect garden fantasy. Gardening enthusiasts who lack the hands or skill to replicate what they see can at least find something to aspire to. On the instructional series *Amateur Smart Living*, Amanda's goddess of all things perfect shows gardeners how to make their own tomato vines and find designer garden implements. Seward's almost fanatical attention to detail makes her series a must watch for viewers with bourgeois energy and ambition. HGTV's *Back-*



Beattie in his Regina garden as much coach or mentor as gardening expert

yard *Planners* is a Canadian-made series dedicated to formalizing gardens as if they were mansions, complete with facades, shrubs, and gables and the pool. "It's wonderful to see things we could never achieve," says Margaret Archibute, president of the Garden Club of London, Ont., "but which fill the eye and the heart with such beauty."

Educational shows are clearly more down-to-earth. Can't get your machine to grow? Seward's *Living Your Garden* shows such as *Get Growing* supply information, leading up their audience with practical suggestions like Beattie's episode on soil. Mark Callen, one of Canada's foremost gardening experts, joins the host. In one episode of *Mark Callen Gardening*, he toured a multiplexed at Hamilton's Royal Botanical Garden and then taught viewers how to plant their own bulbs. As in so many aspects of Canadian life, geography plays a role. Gardeners are most likely to show that reflect their region. Patrick Dixon, a co-owner and landscape gardener with Botanical Landscape Maintenance, a company that caters to some of Vancouver's most affluent homeowners,

prefers gardening television shows such as *Canadian Gardening* that cater to the west coast climate. "They've got to encompass the specific needs and ideas I'm pointing. I don't appreciate shows that try to be everything to everybody."

Beattie and his guests have always provided such guidance, but for some gardeners, especially novices, they lack immediacy. Unlike printed material, programs present gardening techniques in real time. "It's the visual aspect," says Stephen Bodsworth, chair of the horticultural department at Hunter College in Toronto. "Somebody is getting their hands dirty. These shows get the gardening going and once the program is over, people rush out and try to do what they've seen."

The key to a show's success lies in the host. Broadcasters cannot just stick large shovels in an actor's hands and have him or her read from our cards. "You can't fool these viewers," says Enright. "You have to find a host who is absolutely credible. If you do that, the audience will be loyal."

The final ingredient is variety. Planners need it to grow and garden show hosts

need it to survive. The pioneer of gardening television, such as Earl Cora of the 1960s CBC show *Gentry Calendar*, presented informative but somewhat arid programs. Today's hosts place the focus on interactivity. After *Greenhouse*, played by Brooklyn-born comedian-gardener Cassandra Dunn, must curiously with garden tips. Dunn, who mirrored as a comedian at Second City in Chicago, has a separate segment in which she coaches nervous gardeners accompanied by their sibling placement in mock psychology sessions. Dunn once "diagnosed" a woman who was afraid to throw out a seven-year-old rhododendron with "separation anxiety."

Beattie, who fields 12 calls a show, is the straight-talking face of gardening instruction. "Many of my calls say they like the fact I can talk to them and I'm not giving advice that a bunch of Latin names and get them confused. I get people who call in and say, 'I've never gardened before. What can I do next?' That's blind trust if nothing else." Hosts like Beattie are doing such time and changing the TV landscape. It may be that gardeners in the next millennium will find prepared unless they are armed with advice, base—and channel changer. ☐



Allan Fotheringham

Reflections on a frozen pond

And so, you see, we are at a Stanley Cup ceremonial game and the broken-down sportswriter realizes it is the first hockey game he has been to in 10, probably 15, years.

This is at the hoarily named *Air Canada Centre* in Toronto, which the fans fortuitously have dubbed *The Hanger*. Just as Vancouver fans have renamed GM Place, home of the Canucks, *The Garage*. And Montreal call the new Molson Centre, *The Keg*.

Hanging from the rafters are photos of 10 games from the Maple Leaf's (why aren't they the Leafs?) glory days. A lady companion asks the broken-down sportswriter, knowing he is a broken-down sportswriter, if he could prove his credentials by supplying a first name for every one of them.

Cordully. There is No 10, Sylvanus Apps, who was a star fullback at McMaster University, Canadian pole-vault champion who represented his country at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin, exposed the Leafs for eight out of his 10 years, never smoked or drank and whose most fierce words were "By gawd" and "Gawdiddit".

There is No 9, Charlie Conacher, member of the Kid Line No. 7, King Clancy, etc. etc., coach and hockey enforcer. No 1, Turk Broda, first goalie. No 4, Ace Bailey, blundered by Boston's Eddie Shore in 1933, nearly died, never played another game.

No 5, Bill Beaulieu, disappeared in a plane crash. No 1, Johnny Bowser, his face cross-stitched with cane. Tim Horton, No. 7, died in a car crash driving home to Fort Erie, Ont., after a game at the Gardens, immortalized by daughters, Tedder Kennedy. No 9, petriole captain. No 10, George (The Chief) Armstrong, played for the Leafs for 22 years. Never play Timal Horton with me, lady.

Thanks to new Leaf boss Ken Dryden, the only intellectual in hockey, basketball and the child Stanley Cup-winner. In 1918 he is the Arrows. In 1922 in St. Pat. Then the magnificent Leaf era—1932, '32, '34, '35, '37, '38 and '39, followed by '51, then '62, '63, '64 and '67.

Looking up at greatness, and class, and the usual days, the broken-down sportswriter thinks about what is going on over side *The Hanger*. That would be something called an Ontario election. It is not a penny right.

It is an election, in Canada's richest and most populous province, where the reigning Conservatives apparently have

no thinkers or strategists in their own ranks. And so have imposed, from Republican ranks down south, the master of negative "attack" television ads, pursuing all the business of fear and may that talk is the worst of us.

It seems that Ontario McGuinty, the fawning leader of the Liberals is "back on crime." The proof of that? He is a lawyer who actually has defended the accused in court.

Who do the Conservatives most fear, and worry about at night? Turns out it is the busy squalid kids who look at red light, trying to outdo space change. Premier Mike Harris, he wants darkly, will banish them from the face of the land.

The inexperienced McGuinty, for his part, is courted and trained by a television reporter until he finally agrees that Harris is "a dog."

Just so keep up the pace, new and also inexperienced NDP Leader Howard Hampton compares McGuinty to Norman Bloor, the killer in *Psycho*. And of course has to apologize—the new trendy cop-out—most day.

There was a time, when Ontario was led by real leaders, that Premier John Robarts formed a "freedman" relationship with Quebec's Jean Lesage. There was a sense that the two most important provinces had some obligation to be leaders of the pack and to discuss even their differences with some dignity and a sense of civility.

David Peterson, when a Liberal premier, was prominent in the March Lake and Chaudiere Falls second debates. Today, Harris never mentions Quebec, never raises above the squalid kids in his level of campaigning. The election is so preordained, so saturated by its parts from abroad, that none of the Quebec newspapers have even dispatched their reporters from Ottawa, Montreal or Quebec City to cover it.

Syl Apps, who ended up a long-time Conservative cabinet minister at Queen's Park, would have been appalled at the sordidness of this election. Might even have said, "Holy cow!" King Clancy at least would have brought some wit to it, wit being possible in a sense where one politician accuses another of being linked to Alfred Hitchcock's notion of someone snubbing a woman to death in a shower.

In front of the broken-down sportswriter at *The Hanger* is a man holding up, for all these periods, a huge sign that reads "MY WIFE LEFT ME, LOST MY JOB, CO LEAFS GO."

That would sum up the Ontario election, 1999.



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Think where it will take you.



Meet the president of the Homeowners Association.

Weyerhaeuser forests provide homes for hundreds of species. From black bears and moose, to eagles, salamanders, owls—and human beings. Of course, people don't actually live in our forests, but they do rely on our wood for their homes. You see, two-thirds of the wood used every year goes to home building. We believe it's possible to meet that need, but still protect the forest habitats that provide homes for wildlife.

So we plan harvests to avoid disrupting certain animals' breeding seasons. We leave buffers of trees along streams to protect fish and provide shelter for birds and animals. In fact, measures like these have contributed to the regional recovery of several struggling species. Including the black bear. (We're hoping the Homeowners Association is as pleased as we are.) www.eyerhaeuser.com



Weyerhaeuser
The future is growing™